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A

HISTORY OF GREECE,

FROM THE  
EARLIEST TIMES TO THE ROMAN CONQUEST.

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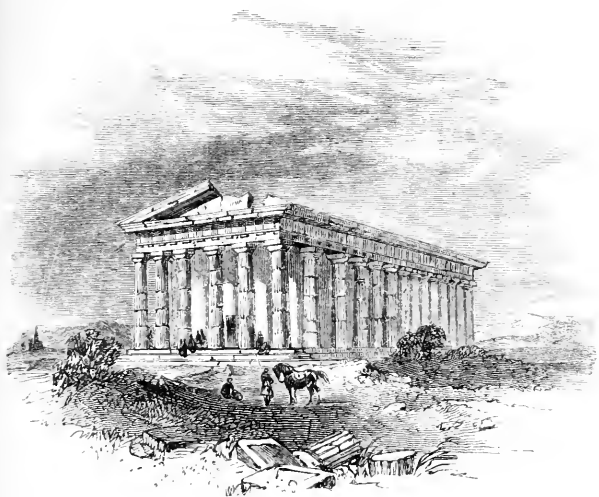
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# List of Illustrations.

	PAGE
TEMPLE OF THESEUS, ATHENS . . . . .	v
ATHENIAN COIN . . . . .	vii
MOUNT OLYMPUS AND OSSA FROM THE PLAINS OF THESSALY . . . . .	4
PLAINS OF ARGOS . . . . .	6
WALL OF THE CITADEL OF ARGOS . . . . .	11
GATE OF MYCENÆ . . . . .	12
REMAINS OF THE PROPYLEA, ATHENS . . . . .	14
HERCULES . . . . .	15
THESEUS . . . . .	18
PANATHENAIIC PROCESSION . . . . .	19
ARGO . . . . .	20
FRIEZE OF TEMPLE OF APOLLO, AT PHIGALEIA, REPRESENTING A BATTLE BETWEEN THE GREEKS AND AMAZONS . . . . .	27
RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER AT ÆGINA . . . . .	41
DIDRACHM OF TARENTUM . . . . .	44
GOLD STATER OF TARENTUM . . . . .	45
COIN OF RHODES . . . . .	47
FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON . . . . .	49
PERIANDER . . . . .	54
THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS, FROM THE PNYX . . . . .	55
MARS' HILL . . . . .	61
FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON . . . . .	64
HOMER . . . . .	68
PORTION OF THE WESTERN FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON, BRITISH MUSEUM . . . . .	72
BACCHUS . . . . .	80
THE TIGRIS, NEAR NINEVEH . . . . .	89
CYRUS . . . . .	90
LYDIAN STATER OF SARDIS . . . . .	91
DARIUS . . . . .	92
ANCIENT HELMETS . . . . .	102
TUMULI, FIELDS OF MARATHON . . . . .	104
DRACHMA OF ÆGINA . . . . .	108
FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON . . . . .	124
MAP OF THE PIREUS . . . . .	130
BUST OF PERICLES . . . . .	141
ASPASIA . . . . .	142
PRISONERS IMPALED . . . . .	145
THE PARTHENON, ATHENS . . . . .	148
MAP OF MEGARA . . . . .	165
BATTERING RAM. SIEGE OF PLATÆA . . . . .	169
SIEGE OF PLATÆA . . . . .	170
MAP OF LESBOS . . . . .	174
MAP OF PLATÆA . . . . .	180

	PAGE
MAP OF CORCYRA . . . . .	183
COIN OF SICILY . . . . .	186
MAP OF NAVARINO . . . . .	188
RARE MEDALLION OF SYRACUSE . . . . .	194
CORINTHIAN COIN . . . . .	201
ALCIBIADES . . . . .	202
ARGOS AND NEIGHBOURHOOD . . . . .	205
SYRACUSE . . . . .	208
SYRACUSAN DECADRACHMA . . . . .	210
HERMES . . . . .	212
SYRACUSE . . . . .	216
COIN OF SYRACUSE . . . . .	219
THE BEMA, IN THE PNYX . . . . .	249
TEMPLE OF APOLLO PHIGALEIA . . . . .	253
THEATRE OF DIONYSUS, AT ATHENS . . . . .	254
ÆSCHYLUS . . . . .	257
SOPHOCLES . . . . .	259
EURIPIDES . . . . .	262
DIDRACHMA OF MAGNA-GRECIA . . . . .	269
SOCRATES . . . . .	280
REVERSE OF A COIN OF LOCRI OF OPUNTI . . . . .	294
COIN OF AMYNTAS OF MACEDONIA . . . . .	302
CARYATID FIGURE, FROM THE ERECTHEIUM, ATHENS . . . . .	315
COIN OF ACANTHUS, MACEDONIA . . . . .	316
COIN OF PHILIPPUS II. . . . .	319
DEMOSTHENES . . . . .	324
DORIC PERISTYLE . . . . .	337
ALEXANDRIA . . . . .	338
TETRADRACHMA OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT . . . . .	339
DIDRACHMA OF CORINTH . . . . .	340
DAMASCUS . . . . .	347
TYRE . . . . .	348
JERUSALEM . . . . .	349
BABYLON . . . . .	351
TETRADRACHMA OF ALEXANDER I. OF MACEDON . . . . .	358
REVERSE OF A TETRADRACHMA OF ALEXANDER I. OF MACEDON . . . . .	358
GOLD PENTADRACHMA OF PTOLEMY SOTER . . . . .	364
GOLD OCTODRACHMA OF PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS . . . . .	370
COIN OF PERSEUS . . . . .	390
DORIC COLUMNS, TEMPLE OF MINERVA, CORINTH . . . . .	395
HEAD OF MINERVA . . . . .	397
ALEXANDER . . . . .	399
PLATO . . . . .	407
ARISTOTLE . . . . .	410
EPICURUS . . . . .	413
DIDRACHMA OF SYBARIS AND REVERSE . . . . .	419
PERSIAN DARIC . . . . .	424
TETRADRACHMA OF THURIUM AND REVERSE . . . . .	425
INCUSED REVERSE OF A COIN OF SYBARIS . . . . .	427
DIDRACHMA OF SYBARIS . . . . .	427
COIN OF SICILY . . . . .	429



Temple of Theseus, Athens.

## PREFACE.

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AFTER all that has been done lately towards the investigation of Greek history, it is not to be expected that a work of so little pretension as this would comprehend any new facts. In most instances, however, the classical authorities have themselves been consulted, and in some the Greek scholar will recognise paraphrases, or short summaries, of the narratives recorded by the ancient historians.

It has been thought advisable frequently to omit details and events of minor importance altogether, in order that room might be given for bringing forward more prominently those which have exercised an influence upon the world at large, and have taught grave political lessons to all generations. Some few of the political and social phases which the Hellenic communities went through, the author has ventured to illustrate by a reference to events of more modern times, and ideas familiar to modern readers. A few biographical anecdotes have been here and there interspersed in order to render the drier details of history more interesting to the young, for whose use more especially this little work is intended, but a selection has been made of those which are the best authenticated.

The literary history necessarily occupies but a brief portion of the volume, but sufficient, it is hoped, to make the reader in some degree acquainted with the progress and development of Greek intellect, and to induce him to pursue the subject further in larger works.

The view of Greek philosophy is of course still shorter and more incomplete, but a longer notice would have involved the necessity of entering upon difficulties too great for such a work as this, and it is hoped that enough has been said on this subject to show how the wisest of men had "to feel after God,



if haply they might find him," when not helped by the light of revelation, and yet how mercifully He, who willeth that all should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth, permitted the Gentiles "to be by nature a law unto themselves."

R. W. B.



Athenian : em



# THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

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## CHAPTER I.

EXTENT OF GREECE—ITS GEOGRAPHICAL BOUNDARIES—THE POLITICAL  
INFLUENCE OF ITS PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY—ITS DIFFERENT DIVISIONS  
DESCRIBED—NATURAL PRODUCTIONS—CLIMATE AND ATMOSPHERE—THEIR  
INFLUENCES—ORIGIN OF THE HELLENIC RACE—MYTHICAL ACCOUNT—  
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT—LANGUAGE AND ALPHABET.

No nation, either of ancient or modern times, has exercised so great an influence over the human mind, or occupied so important a position in the history of man, as that of Greece. And yet, compared with the vast empires of the world, its geographical extent is almost insignificantly small. It lies entirely between the thirty-sixth and fortieth degrees of north latitude, and consequently its extreme length from north to south is less than two hundred and fifty English miles. Its greatest breadth is not more than one hundred and eighty miles. Its superficial extent, owing to the number of capes and gulfs with which its coast is indented, is even smaller than these measurements would lead us to suppose. Its area is less than Portugal; its coast line is longer than that of the whole Spanish peninsula.

This irregular and extensive coast line furnished safe harbours and convenient settlements for a large commercial and maritime population ; and the numerous islands which studded the *Ægean Archipelago*, formed a series of resting-places, and a line of communication with the Asiatic coast, for the small vessels of the ancients, which were incapable of making long voyages. These geographical advantages aided much the progress of national civilization. A mere glance at the map of the world shows that Greece may lay claim to the same superiority in this respect over the rest of Europe, as Europe possesses over the other great divisions of the world. Its bays, creeks, and natural harbours offered unequalled facilities for commerce, and encouraged colonization. Attica, the dwelling-place of the greatest maritime power, and the leading state in Greece, enjoyed a position almost insular. Nor was it only wealth which commercial intercourse thus poured into the ports of Greece ; but the fields of historical and philosophical investigation were thus enlarged, narrow prejudices were obliterated, and Greece became the home of free and liberal political institutions.

It was of course impossible that a nation which possessed these opportunities of intercourse with the rest of the world, should, as its population increased, remain cramped and confined within such narrow limits as have been described. Like Great Britain, which for maritime power, and commercial influence, and success in arms, may fairly be considered her modern counterpart, Greece sent forth her colonies to the east and to the west. Greeks occupied the

Ægean islands, some of which were of remarkable beauty, others rocky strongholds; they lined the picturesque coasts of Asia Minor; they founded settlements and cities in Sicily and Italy, of which no part was very distant, whilst some portions of the shores of the latter might be reached in a voyage of thirty or forty miles. So numerous were Greek colonies in the west of the Italian peninsula, that the district obtained the name of Magna Græcia.

Next to its extensive and deeply indented coast line, the most important physical feature of Greece is its mountainous character. Chains of lofty and rugged mountains divide it into a number of small plains, each of which, although some contained only a few square miles, was the home of an independent state. The Cambunian ridge, of which the snow-capped Olympus, the fabled residence of the gods, is the most easterly and loftiest peak, forms the northern boundary. From this, Pindus runs in a southerly direction, separating the wild and mountainous Epirus from the fertile plain of Thessaly. This beautiful plain is itself bounded on the south by Mount Othrys, and on the east by the heights of Pelion and Ossa; which, as ancient legends told, the giants, in their war against the gods, endeavoured to pile one upon the other in order to scale the heavens. Between Ossa and Olympus the plain is accessible by the lovely vale of Tempe, which, as well as the plain itself, is watered by the Peneus. South of Othrys, and united with it at the southern extremity of Mount Pindus, runs the chain of Æta, the only pass through which, into that portion of

Greece which was occupied by the states most celebrated in history, was the glorious Thermopylæ. Spurs from the great northern mountain chains, now



Mount Olympus and Ossa, from the Plains of Thessaly.

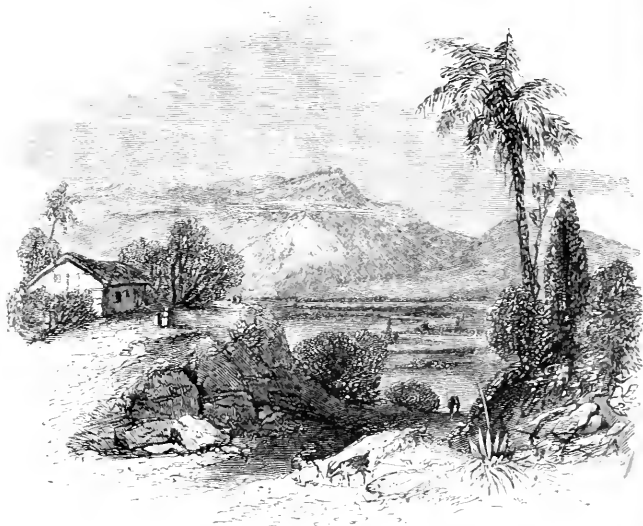
branch in all directions, the loftiest summits of which, such as Helicon, Parnassus, Cithæron, Parnes, and Hymettus, are celebrated in poetry and history.

Attica, the abode of the Athenian people, was the least fertile of the rest of the plains into which Greece was divided; but it enjoyed the advantage of having two sides washed by the sea. From this circumstance it derived its name, the Greek word *ἄκτῃ* (*acte*) signifying "the shore;" its form is that of an acute-angled triangle, of which the base is the

ridge of Parnes and Cithæron, and its extent may be compared to that of the English county of Lancashire. The narrow isthmus of Corinth, in one part only four miles broad, unites the continent of Europe to the peninsula of the Peloponnesus, the entrance into which is defended by the natural rampart of the Oncean hills. Corinth, owing to its position between two deep gulfs, the Saronic and the Corinthian, became in very early times celebrated for its commercial wealth, and in later times for that which too often accompanies wealth—its effeminate luxury and unbridled licentiousness. The Peloponnesus itself resembles in shape a leaf, and hence its modern name of the Morea; although the mulberry-leaf by no means so exactly corresponds to its form as that of the plane-tree, to which in ancient times it was more appropriately compared. The Peloponnesus is divided into six districts, each separated from the others by the natural boundaries of mountain chains; of these the central one is Arcadia, to the north of which lies Achaia, to the south Laconia and Messenia, to the west Elis, and to the east Argolis.

The leading state in the Peloponnesus was Lacedæmon, or Sparta, the great rival and opponent of Athens. Its territory extended over Laconia and Messenia, the latter of which had been annexed to its dominion by the right of conquest. Argolis was a small but remarkably beautiful plain, which contained several independent states, and in the earliest ages of Greek history could boast of two royal capitals, Argos and Mycenæ. The little plain itself is no more than twelve miles in length, and scarcely

ever exceeds five miles in breadth ; and so near are its celebrated cities to each other, that the traveller who disembarks at its port of Nauplia may in one half-hour reach Mycenæ, and in another Argos.



PLAINS OF ARGOS

Greece possesses no navigable rivers, but its deficiency in this respect is, as has been shown, to a great degree compensated for by its extent of coast ; indeed, a want of water is almost universally observable, but nevertheless the plains produced corn, and wine, and oil, in sufficient plenty to encourage industry without tempting to indolence ; the mountain sides furnished pasture for cattle, and the lower



ranges of hills abounded in forests. The mountains are principally limestone, and their quarries vie with those of Italy in the production of the most beautiful marbles: those especially of Pentelicus and Paros were the purest that could be shaped by the chisel of the statuary. The silver mines at Laurion in Attica yielded an important part of the yearly revenue of Athens. Bœotia supplied iron, and Eubœa a small quantity of copper.

But, above all, the Greek inhabited a country well suited to foster and nurture the fancy and imagination by its varied and picturesque beauty, which, it is agreed on all hands, cannot be surpassed: his was a land in which those grandest objects in nature,—mountains and sea,—were, one or other, always visible. The climate, too, was as beautiful as the country, the sky bright and transparent,<sup>1</sup> the air genial yet bracing, inspiring that buoyant and elastic temper which enabled the Greek to triumph over all trials and difficulties. A modern French scholar<sup>2</sup> thus writes of the sky and atmosphere of Greece:—“It is impossible to describe the varied tints which dye the marbles of Hymettus, which bathe the islands of the Ægean, and fringe the crests of the mountains. So magnificent are these effects of light, that even Homer has not attempted to paint a sunrise or a sunset. Nor does the light of the sun in Greece alone defy description; the night has its own peculiar brilliance, the stars shine like fire. The rays of the moon are not of silver as in the cold north. The attributes of Phœbe are similar to those of her

<sup>1</sup> See Eurip. Med. 822.

<sup>2</sup> Ampère.

brother,—the poets with truth encircle her brows with a crown of gold.”

Such a country and such a climate naturally exerted a powerful influence upon the national character and history. Nursed in a beautiful land, the Greek had a strong sense of the beautiful. He had the stout-hearted bravery and free independent spirit of a mountaineer, combined with the adventurous enterprise of a maritime or insular people. The ancients themselves were fond of attributing to their bright and cheerful climate an influence over the mental powers, and Cicero attributes the clearness of Attic wit to that of the Attic atmosphere; whilst the lively Athenians were so impressed with this idea, that they falsely accused the climate of Bœotia with causing that dulness in its inhabitants which was doubtless owing to the deadening effects of poverty and toil, the care of making provision for the daily wants of life where the gifts of nature were sparingly and grudgingly afforded.

The almost impassable nature of the natural boundaries which divided the independent nations of Greece, renders it necessary to view them in two different, and, as it at first sight seems, somewhat contradictory aspects: first, in their oneness as a nation; next, in their subdivision into different races, distinct enough to admit of the bitterest feelings of jealousy and enmity, and yet not strong enough to destroy nationality. Unity and combination against the non-Greek, or, as the Greeks called it, “the barbarian element of the human race,” and jealousy between the opposing sections of the Hellenic portion, con-

stitute the key to all Greek history, intellectual, literary, and political. In everything relating to Greece, this tendency to union, accompanied with an insurmountable principle of disunion and division of race, is discernible. The natural boundaries of mountains, whilst they protected the nation as a whole against the attacks of foreign foes, at the same time presented obstacles to physical and moral amalgamation; yet notwithstanding this separation, there was a sympathy between Greek and Greek which never existed between Greek and Barbarian.

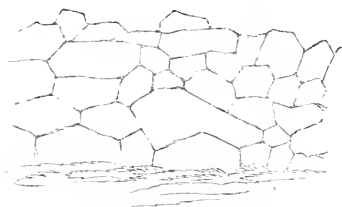
The two great divisions of the Hellenic race (for the Greeks, as they called their country *Hellas*, called themselves *Hellenes*) were the Dorian and the Ionian. These differed in blood, in politics, in literature. In the earliest epochs of history which are described in the Homeric poems, (the earliest Greek literature which we possess,) Hellenic nationality overcame these differences; and the author of these poems, though an Ionian, is the representative of the united Greek national mind. In after ages, however, the different political sentiments and intellectual peculiarities become plainly visible. The Dorians were aristocratic and oligarchical in all their institutions; the Ionians liberal and democratic. The refined intellect of the Ionians developed itself in epic and elegiac poetry, and their poetical genius reached its zenith in Attic tragedy and comedy; they were philosophers, orators, and historians. The Dorians originated and cultivated religious, pathetic, and triumphant odes and choruses; but they had no history, oratory, or philosophy.

The following are (1.) the mythical or traditional account of the origin of the Hellenic race and its subdivisions, and (2.) the most probable account as gathered from historical investigation. The mythical story, which was handed down from generation to generation in lays and legends, claimed for the Greeks, as is the case with all nations, an origin from imaginary patriarchs, after whom the Hellenes and their subdivisions were named.

The waters of a vast deluge, not improbably the one of which we have the true history in the inspired volume, overwhelmed Hellas; and Deucalion, king of Phthia in Thessaly, and his wife Pyrrha, were alone saved in a ship which he had built by the advice of his father Prometheus. Nine days the vessel floated on the bosom of the deep, and, when the waters began to subside, rested on Mount Parnassus. The king and his wife had a son named Hellen, who in his turn was the father of Æolus, Dorus, and Xuthus. Xuthus also had two sons, Achæus and Ion. These, then, were the legendary forefathers of the Hellenic nation, and of its subordinate races, Æolians, Dorians, Achæans, and Ionians.

Modern researches into the ethnological history of the human race, have enabled us to trace with a probability almost amounting to certainty the events which gave rise to these mythical traditions. From Armenia, the cradle of the human race, emigrated two great and intelligent families, the Aramaic or Semitic, and the Iranian or Indo-European; the former occupied Mesopotamia, and thence gradually

overspread Syria, Arabia, the northern coast of Africa, and the fertile valley of the Nile. The latter moved westward, to Asia Minor, thence to India; and portions of it, skirting in their migrations the northern shores of the Euxine and Caspian, penetrated into Greece and other parts of Europe. The first of these hordes was the Pelasgian. According to the Greek historian Herodotus,<sup>1</sup> they spoke a barbarian, *i. e.* a foreign, language, and occupied the whole of Hellas. They were a peaceful and highly civilized race: remains of fortifications, and of other architectural works which marked their migrations, exist to the present day, in Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy. The character of these remains, (which, owing to their vastness, are commonly called Cyclopian) is

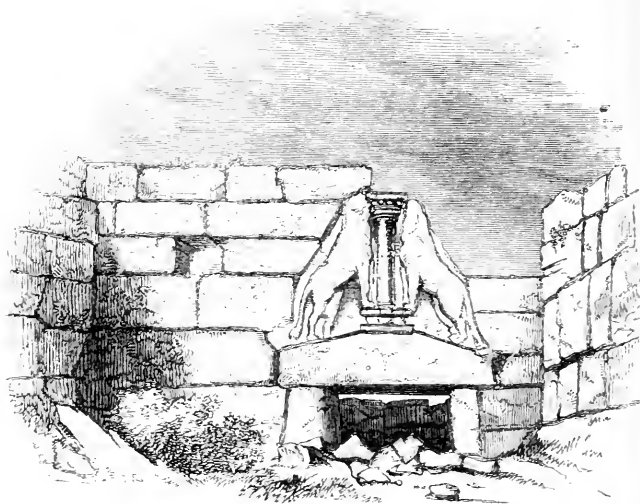


Wall of the Citadel of Argos.

very remarkable. They are constructed with irregular masses of stone ingeniously fitted together without cement. Nor were their gigantic edifices destitute of some artistic taste. On the gate of the royal palace of Mycenæ, which was the work of the Pelasgians, are sculptured two lions, which in the execution of the work very nearly resemble those

<sup>1</sup> Herod. i. 57.

which may be seen in the collection of Lycian marbles at the British Museum.



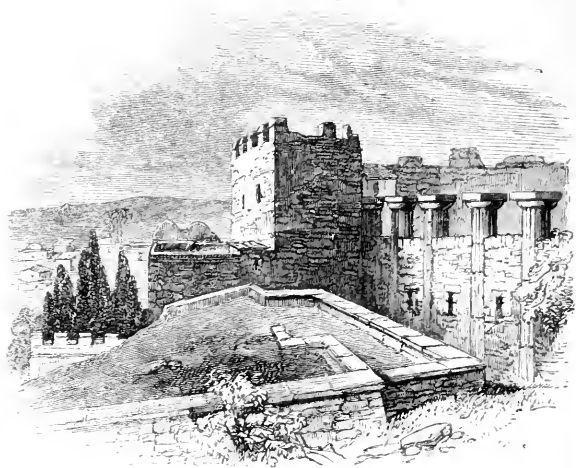
Gate of Mycenae

The successors of the Pelasgians were the Hellenes, from whom Greece derived the name of Hellas. They were a warlike people—they conquered their peaceful predecessors; some of them they expelled from their domains, and amongst the remainder they lived as a victorious nobility, like the Normans amongst the Saxons in our country. The legend of Dorus, Æolus, and Ion, the descendants of Hellen, symbolized the fact, that the subdivision of the Hellenic race were the Dorians, Æolians, and

Ionians. The Dorians, whose name has an affinity to words like *Tor* and *Taurus*, which signify a mountain, were the mountaineers. The *Æolians*, who probably sprung from a union of Dorian races with the *Pelasgians* of *Thessaly*, were so called because they were a mixed race (*Αἰόλεις*); and the *Ionians* derived their appellation from their inhabiting the coast (*ἡίων*). The *Athenians* were either, according to the assertion of *Herodotus*,<sup>1</sup> a *Pelasgian* race, or else, which is more probable, an offshoot or subdivision of the *Ionians*.

The language of Greece belongs to the *Indo-European* family, but its alphabet is of *Semitic* origin. A tradition tells that *Cadmus*, a *Phœnician*, brought into Greece an alphabet of sixteen letters. This tradition has evidently truth for its basis, for not only were the ancient Greeks accustomed to call the *Semitic* natives *Phœnicians*, but also it is most probable that their merchants would have derived from the descendants of *Shem*, the alphabetical signs which they used in their written literature, through their intercourse with those important commercial communities of the *Phœnicians*, *Tyre* and *Sidon*.

<sup>1</sup> *Herod.* viii. 44.



Remains of the Temple of Minerva

## CHAPTER II.

POETRY THE EARLIEST LITERATURE—HEROIC AGE OF GREECE—MYTHICAL ACCOUNT—HERCULES—HIS LABOURS—FAMILY OF THE PELOPIDÆ—THESEUS—HIS POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS—LEGEND OF THE ARGONAUTS—SIEGE OF TROY—RELIGION OF THE HOMERIC AGE—BELIEF IN A FUTURE STATE—FORM OF GOVERNMENT—DOMESTIC MANNERS AND CUSTOMS—SCIENCES AND ARTS.

As the earliest kind of literature is poetry, so the infancy of Greece, adorned as it was with legends of supernatural might and miraculous exploits, belongs to the poets and not to the historians. The heroic age, then, was supposed to comprehend a period of about two centuries, terminating with the imaginary epoch of the capture of Troy.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 1184.



The great national hero of Hellas, and the earliest whose praises are celebrated in the old Hellenic lays and ballads, was Heracles or Hercules. He belonged to the royal house of Mycenæ, a family which furnished the most awful plots to Attic tragedy. Alcmena, as the story tells, was his mother, and Jove his father. In his childhood, Alcmena and her husband Amphitryon were driven from their native



Heracles.

land by an usurper, and found refuge at Thebes, the capital city of Bœotia. The child Heracles, even in his infancy, showed marvellous bodily strength; he strangled two serpents in his cradle, and when he grew up to manhood, his adopted country was the

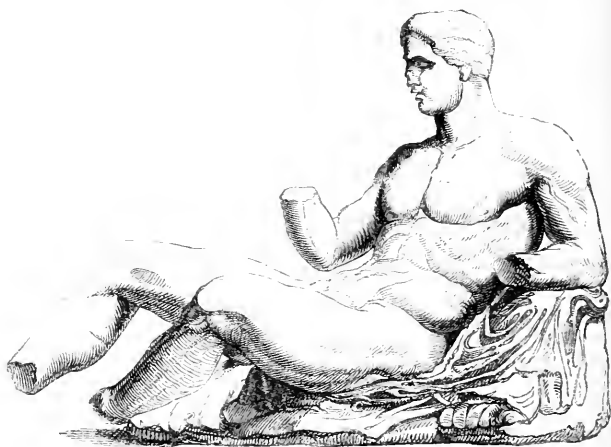
scene of his prowess. Mastered by a fit of ungovernable passion, the strong man slew his wife and children, and was condemned by Eurystheus, king of Mycenæ, to atone for the murder by performing his celebrated twelve labours.

Arrayed in complete armour, contributed by different deities, this favourite of heaven achieved his arduous enterprises. He slew the Nemean lion, the Lernæan Hydra, and the Erymanthian boar, which devastated the districts they respectively haunted. He brought alive to Eurystheus the stag of Œnoë with brazen feet and golden horns, the wild bull which ravaged Crete, the mares of Diomedes, which fed on human flesh; he cleansed the filthy stables of Augeas, in which three thousand oxen had been kept for years; he conquered Hippolyte, queen of the Amazons; brought back the golden apples from the garden of the Hesperides, in spite of its guardians, fiery dragons; and with his unarmed strength dragged the three-headed dog Cerberus from the infernal regions.

But notwithstanding his strength and courage, he had not strength of mind; he had not moral courage to withstand the temptations of sloth and effeminacy at the court of Omphale, queen of Lydia, amongst whose handmaids he passed his time in embroidery; and at length he so provoked the jealousy of his wife Dejanira, that she sent him a tunic steeped in the poisoned blood of the centaur Nessus, which ate his flesh from his bones. Racked with torments, he bade his friend Philoctetes erect for him a funeral pile; and before the fire had consumed his mortal

body, he was carried up to heaven and admitted into the assembly of the immortals. The royal house from which this hero sprung, claimed an Egyptian origin. Danaë, the daughter of Acrisius, descended from Danaus an Egyptian, who, migrating to Greece, became king of Argos, bore to Jupiter a son, named Perseus, and became the founder of the Perseid family. The family which the Perseidæ succeeded was that of the Pelopidæ. They ascribed their origin to Pelops, who also gave to the peninsula the name of Peloponnesus, or the island of Pelops. It would be too long a task to relate at length the tragic legends which deform the story of this bloody house: how Tantalus served up to the table of the gods the limbs of his murdered son; how the curse of this blood-guilt descended to his children and his children's children, and Atreus, in revenge for an unpardonable wrong, placed the same impious banquet before his brother Thyestes; how Agamemnon, the son of Atreus, was murdered by his wife Clytemnestra, whilst she expiated her unnatural sin at the hands of her son Orestes. All these tales of family legends and national traditions, embellished by the vivid imagination of the poets, were probably built up on the following simple substratum of historical truth. At some far distant period, a swarthy visaged man (for that is the signification of the word Pel-ops) migrated to Argolis, and there founded a colony. Years rolled on, and the ruling dynasty was compelled to yield up their supremacy to another dominant race, who either came, or professed to come, from Egypt.

The national hero of Attica was Theseus. His father Ægeus, king of Athens, had left his mother Æthra at her father's court at Trœzene. When their son arrived at man's estate, he armed himself with his father's sword, and set out for Athens; on the road he cleared the country of the formidable banditti which infested it, and on his arrival was named by Ægeus as his successor. Athens in those days was



Theseus

compelled to send every ninth year to Minos, the sea-king, and celebrated lawgiver of Crete, a tribute of seven youths and seven virgins. They were to be devoured by a monster called the Minotaur—half-man, half-bull, whose den was in a labyrinth in that island. Theseus accompanied the doomed victims, braved the monster in his den, and slew him. By the aid of a

clue of thread given him by Ariadne, the daughter of Minos, who had fallen in love with him, he retraced his steps and sailed back safe to Athens.

An important change which took place in the political constitution and internal administration of Attica, is ascribed by tradition to Theseus. He founded a limited and constitutional monarchy; he defined the political rights of the three orders into which the people of Attica was divided, viz. the *Eupatridæ*, or nobility; the *Geomori*, or yeomen and agricultural labourers; and the *Demiurgi*, or trading and manufacturing class; and, lastly, by the following policy he consolidated his empire. Attica had consisted up to the time of this monarch of twelve united federal states, the foundation of which was



Panathenæic Procession.

ascribed to an ancient king named Cecrops; these he united into one, and made Athens the capital of his kingdom. This union he cemented and established by

a system of centralization ; he caused the inhabitants to resort thither for the transaction of all business, both legislative and judicial, which hitherto had been transacted at the different country towns. These political changes he consecrated by the sanctions of religion, and commemorated periodically by games. The Panathenaic festival, in honour of Athene (*Minerva*), the patron goddess of Athens, and the Isthmian games in honour of Poseidon (*Neptune*), the god of that element to which in after ages Athens owed her chief greatness, taught the newly united states to regard each other in their worship and amusements as one nation and one people.

The scene of another poetical tale of wonder was laid in Thessaly. Jason, the rightful heir to the throne of Iolcos, claimed it of the usurper, and



Argo

received a promise of its surrender on condition of his bringing from Colchis, at the farthest extremity of the Euxine, the golden fleece which was guarded by a tremendous dragon. The young

prince, at the head of a band of heroes, sailed in the ship *Argo* (from which the sailors were called the *Argonautæ*), and arrived safely at their destination. Medea, daughter of the king of Colchis, who was an enchantress, became enamoured of Jason, lulled the dragon asleep, gained possession of the golden fleece, and accompanied her royal lover to his native land.

But of all the legends that adorn Greek story, that of Troy is the most widely celebrated. It is the last and the most glorious amongst the recorded triumphs of the Heroic age. The universal manner in which it is clear that the story of the Trojan war pervaded the ancient ballad literature of Greece, serves to point to some true historical tradition. It is most probable that in pre-historic times the different nations of Greece, already accustomed to dare the perils of the sea, united in a piratical and predatory expedition to the coast of Asia Minor, and, after a long struggle, gained a difficult victory over a powerful and highly civilized Asiatic people. The expedition may have been undertaken in retaliation for some former act of piracy and abduction. Many deeds of crime and violence similar to the rape of Helen, must have been done in a rude and barbarous state of society, such as existed in the periods described by the Homeric poems. The story is in a few words as follows.

The city of Troy, or Ilium, was situated in Mysia, a country forming the north-eastern corner of Asia Minor, and bordering upon the Hellespont (*Dardanelles*). There reigned in Oriental splendour a

king named Priam, who had fifty sons. Paris, one of these, abused the hospitality of Menelaus, king of Sparta, by the abduction of his beautiful wife Helen. Agamemnon, the brother of Menelaus and king of Mycenæ, who was the most powerful sovereign in the Peloponnesus and the neighbouring islands, placed himself at the head of an armament of about twelve hundred ships, and sailed for Troy to bring back Helen. For ten long years the city was besieged. During the concluding portion of this period, the events of which form the plot of the *Iliad*, the Greeks are represented as suffering terrible reverses, owing to the absence of Achilles, who had quarrelled with Agamemnon, and had angrily withdrawn from the war. His friend Patroclus, however, is slain by Hector, the Trojan champion, and the thirst for revenge overcomes the wrath of Achilles; he returns to the fight, engages Hector in single combat, and slays him.

From poems written subsequently to the *Iliad*, after the Homeric model, and entitled, "The Sack of Troy, and the lesser *Iliad*," the fate of Troy has been handed down. The cunning Greeks persuaded the Trojans to admit within their walls a huge wooden horse filled with armed men, constructed by the advice of Ulysses; and Troy fell, 1184 years, it is said, before the Christian era. Such are a few specimens of the numerous legends which, sung by ancient bards, and handed down from generation to generation, are scattered throughout the poetical literature of the Hellenic people. They are valuable, however, in a historical point of view, as throwing a light



upon the manners and habits, the religious, political, and social institutions of periods antecedent to the commencement of regular history.

It is probable that the earliest form of Greek religion was Monotheism. Herodotus<sup>1</sup> informs us that the Pelasgians worshipped gods which had neither name nor surname. But this belief did not continue long. With so poetic and imaginative a people, the transition to polytheism must have been early and rapid. The Mythology of Homer, doubtless, embodies those ideas of Deity, which, in a more vague form, were popularly held in Greece in his own age, and the periods immediately preceding. According to his system, then, the abode of the Immortal Gods is Olympus. Their chief is Zeus (*Jupiter*), the original framer and supreme controller of the laws of Nature,—the king of gods and men. His word and nod are law. He is generally the rewarder of truth and virtue, and the punisher of falsehood and wrong. He defends the cause of the widow and the orphan;—no suppliant addresses him in vain. But his power is limited by Fate or Destiny; he is subject to human wants and weaknesses, such as hunger and thirst; “he sleeps, and must be awakened.”

The other deities who formed the court of Zeus were as inferior to him in moral attributes as in power. Human passions prevailed amongst them; their petty disputes and quarrels disturbed the peace of Olympus; and in their intercourse with mankind they were guilty of favouritism. Hence their worship consisted in averting their anger and propitiating

<sup>1</sup> Herod. ii. 52.

their favour by offerings and sacrifices. The religion of the Heroic age was not idolatrous. No mention is made of any visible representation of deity, except the statue of Athene, in the citadel of Troy. But the funeral rites of Patroclus prove that, though the practice is reprobated by Homer, religion was not altogether unpolluted by the dark stain of human sacrifice. Temples were not common: sacrifice was generally offered in the open air, and the priestly office was united with that of the king. A belief in a future state was entertained, but the ideas respecting the existence of the soul were indistinct and inconsistent. The happiness of the blessed was but a cheerless one,—a sad and melancholy immortality.

The form of government universally prevalent was an hereditary monarchy, with definite privileges. A council of peers assisted the deliberations of the sovereign, and on important occasions the question was afterwards referred to the assembled people. Laws are spoken of in Homer, but they were not so much enactments as constitutional principles.

The duty of hospitality was recognised as sacred. Homer, in language somewhat similar to that of St. Paul,<sup>1</sup> urges, as a motive to this duty, that the gods sometimes visit the dwellings of mankind, in the likeness of strangers.<sup>2</sup> Every one,—friend or foe, merchant or pirate,—was welcomed; nor were any questions asked, until he had partaken of the festive meal.<sup>3</sup>

The domestic manners of the Heroic age mark a

<sup>1</sup> Heb. xiii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Odyss. vi. 208 xvii. 485.

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. i. 5.

period of transition between barbarism and refinement. The board was spread with simple yet plenteous fare; the banquet was enlivened by the song and the harp, and was not disgraced by intemperance. Notwithstanding the many noble qualities which adorn Homer's heroes, war was carried on with barbarous cruelty; no quarter was given, except in the hope of obtaining ransom; no mercy was shown when a city was stormed and taken. "The men were slain, the fire reduced the city to ashes, the women and children were dragged into slavery."<sup>1</sup>

Even in time of peace, life and property were insecure. As in modern Europe the piracy of the Norsemen, the raids of the Highland chieftains, and the robberies of the German baron brought no disgrace, so the pirate, in the Homeric age, was supposed to atone for his deeds of outrage by his courage and gallantry. Polygamy did not exist amongst them. Women occupied a high and honourable social position, for which they were well fitted by their virtues and accomplishments, and they enjoyed greater freedom than in later times in Greece. Nor were the humblest domestic duties thought unbecoming females of the highest rank. Science was as yet in its infancy, but the more obvious celestial phenomena were the objects of careful and accurate observation. Geography and the manners of foreign nations were not altogether unknown. Medicine was confined to the simplest method of treating wounds; disease was beyond the reach of human skill. Art, however, was in a remarkably flourishing state. Statues were

<sup>1</sup> Hom. Il. ix. 590.

wrought in metal; armour was richly ornamented; and although painting was unknown, garments were picturesquely embroidered in gold and silver. The description of the shield of Achilles implies artistic genius of the highest order, and the poet must have been well accustomed to the sight of splendour who could describe the palaces of Priam and Odysseus (*Ulysses*), or the house and gardens of Alcinous, with their rich architecture and luxurious furniture.<sup>1</sup>

The useful arts were as far advanced as the ornamental. The Greeks of the Heroic age had ships and war chariots, ploughs and mills, all the common tools of the wheelwright and carpenter now in use, except the saw. They made cheese, fished both with net and line, and it is probable that even the art of writing was not altogether unknown to them. Such was, in a few words, the political and social condition of the pre-historic ages so far as they can be discovered from the only records which exist; namely, the Homeric poems.

<sup>1</sup> Il vi 243. Od. vii 86; xxxiii.



Frieze of Temple of Apollo, at Phigaleia, representing a Battle between the Greeks and Amazons

### CHAPTER III.

ÆOLIC MIGRATION—DORIAN CONQUEST OF PELOPONNESE—MYTHICAL ACCOUNT—LEGEND OF CODRUS—DORIAN AND IONIAN MIGRATIONS TO ASIA MINOR—LEGISLATION OF LYCURGUS—REVIVAL OF OLYMPIC FESTIVALS—OTHER PERIODICAL FESTIVALS IN GREECE—ELEMENTS OF THE POPULATION OF LACEDÆMON—SPARTAN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS—TREATMENT OF THE HELOTS—GOVERNMENT—DOMESTIC LIFE—WOMEN—OLIGARCHICAL SPIRIT OF SPARTA.

WE learn nothing from Greek tradition during the sixty years which immediately followed the capture of Troy; but at that period, if the Mythological Chronology is to be trusted, an important migration is said to have taken place.<sup>1</sup> This migration took the lead in those movements which peopled the coast of Asia Minor with adventurous Greeks, and subjugated the Peloponnese to the dominant Dorian race.

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 1124.

A horde of invaders who inhabited the plains of Central Thessaly, being driven out of their native settlements by a more warlike race, marched southward, and took possession of a tract of country which, after their own name, they called Bœotia. Some years afterwards, a portion of them joining themselves to the exiled inhabitants of Achæa, in the Peloponnese, sailed for Asia, and settled themselves in the northern part of that coast, together with the islands of Lesbos and Tenedos. This movement is commonly called the Æolic migration. Twenty years after the occupation of Bœotia, it was commonly believed that the Dorians overran and conquered the Peloponnese.<sup>1</sup> They were a brave and warlike race of mountaineers, who, after a variety of fortunes, occupied the wild mountainous regions in the spurs of Parnassus. Hence, either urged by the lust of conquest, or, like the Bœotians, pressed upon by other tribes from the north, they drove out the Achæans, and gradually became masters of the whole peninsula. Those of the inhabitants who remained became their serfs, and were deprived of their political franchise; whilst the fortified towns fell by right of conquest into the hands of the conquerors.

The history of this invasion has been often repeated in subsequent ages; nor can a better example be found than that furnished by our own country, at the period of the Norman invasion. The Norman noble represents the Dorian chieftain, his men-at-arms the free citizens, his castle the Achæan fortified town, whilst the huts of the conquered races clustered

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 1104.

for protection round its walls, just as those of the Saxon peasantry did around the strongholds of the new and dominant nobility. Such is the most probable historical account of the Dorian invasion. The following is the mythical tradition:—

After the apotheosis of Heracles, the undying enmity of Eurystheus, who had driven the hero from his paternal dominions, still pursued his children. After some unsuccessful attempts to recover their ancestral kingdom, they took refuge at Athens. Eurystheus invaded Attica with a large force, was beaten, and the Heraclidæ, in pursuit of their flying enemy, poured into the Peloponnese. But this inroad proved most disastrous. Hyllus, one of the Heraclidæ, fell in a single combat; a plague devastated the country; and the oracle of Delphi declared that the invasion of the Heraclidæ was premature, and had provoked the anger of heaven. They therefore solemnly promised not to return until a century had passed away.

Three generations afterwards, the representatives of the race—Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, sailed across the Corinthian Gulf. A storm, however, delayed the success of the expedition, and Aristodemus was killed by lightning. The Delphic oracle was again consulted, and the reply was, that one of the Heraclidæ had slain a prophet. The murder was to be atoned for by the guilty person wandering for two years in exile, and they were to take for their guide a man who had three eyes. Unable to unriddle this enigmatical command, they met one day a man named Oxylus, who had but one eye, riding on a

horse which, like most horses, had two. Here then they recognised the fulfilment of the oracle, and Oxyllus accordingly was appointed as the leader of the expedition. The invaders were successful in one decisive battle, and meeting with no further opposition, took measures for the division of the conquered territory. Elis was assigned to Oxyllus as his reward; and Temenus, Cresphontes, and the two sons whom Aristodemus had left, Eurysthenes and Procles, drew lots for the remaining provinces.

Their plan was, that they were to throw pebbles into a vessel of water; and whoever took out the first was to receive Argolis as his portion, the second Laconia, and the third Messenia. The mountain province of Arcadia, which was inhabited by genuine Pelasgians, still remained independent; and the northern coast was in the possession of the routed Achæans, who hitherto had occupied the whole, and from whom this district ever after bore the name of Achæa. Cresphontes coveted Messenia, the kingdom of the Pylian Nestor, and artfully threw in a ball of clay, which, quickly being dissolved, the pebbles were of course taken out first. Thus Temenus had Argolis, and Laconia fell to the lot of Eurysthenes and Procles, whose descendants became the hereditary joint kings of Sparta and Lacedæmon. By this legend, which attributes to the romantic exploits of a single family a conquest which was very gradually achieved, and probably after a long and obstinate resistance represented by the century past in inactivity by the Heraclidæ, the Dorians in after times defended their hereditary right to the Peloponnesus.



They claimed descent from Achæan royal blood by making Heracles the patriarch of their race. Thus the historical event symbolized by this mythological story is commonly called the "Return of the Heraclidæ."

The Dorians were not content with their new acquisitions; Corinth and Megara yielded to their prowess, and it is said they even attempted an invasion of Attica, but without success. The tradition is that the Delphic oracle foretold that they would be victorious provided they were careful not to kill the Athenian king. When this came to the ears of the patriotic Codrus, who then filled the throne, he resolved to devote himself to death for his country's sake. In the disguise of a woodcutter he penetrated into the camp of the enemy, where he fell in with two Dorians by whom he was attacked and slain. The death of the king itself led to the fulfilment of the oracular prediction, for the event so dispirited the Dorians that they immediately retreated. Doric colonies about the same period established themselves in the southern portion of the coast of Asia Minor, and in the islands of Rhodes and Cos. Their colonies formed a federal union of six states, which was for that reason called the Dorian Hexapolis.

The coast lying between the Æolian colonies on the north, and the Dorian settlements on the south, as well as the islands Chios and Samos, was occupied by a federal union of twelve Ionian cities, cemented together by a common religion, as well as a political bond. A solemn festival was annually held called the Panionium. The origin of the Ionic migration

was as follows: when the Achæans fled before their Dorian conquerors, they drove before them the Ionians, who had hitherto inhabited the northern coast of the Peloponnese; these sought refuge in Attica, which, as Thucydides informs us, on account of its barrenness, did not tempt invaders so much as other parts of Greece, and therefore in very early times enjoyed a settled and secure state of society. Other fugitives from the disturbances which then harassed Greece joined them there. But the same barrenness which offered a safe refuge for the exile, refused maintenance to so large a concourse of strangers. The country became overpopulated, and sixty years after the return of the Heraclidæ the tide of emigration flowed across the Ægean, and in its course left small settlements on some of the Cyclades.<sup>1</sup>

In the Heroic ages it is evident that the states of Argolis took the lead in the Peloponnese. The monarchies of Argos and Mycenæ were by far the most powerful, and this preeminence Argos probably maintained during the ages of historical darkness which next succeeded for nearly three centuries. In process of time, however, Sparta appears to have outstripped Argos, although she still continued to find her in the true historic times a powerful and formidable rival. The strict soldier-like discipline to which Sparta owed this preeminence is traditionally ascribed to the celebrated legislator Lycurgus; although, doubtless, the constitution of Sparta, like all other wise institutions, was the gradual growth of circum-

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 1044.

stances, and the filling up and completion of the hard and sketchy outlines of Doric principles.

Lycurgus succeeded his elder brother Polydectes on the throne of Sparta,<sup>1</sup> but shortly after his accession his brother's widow gave birth to a son. Lycurgus took his infant nephew in his arms, proclaimed him king in the presence of the assembled people, and gave him the name of Charilaus, or "the people's joy." He then left his native land, and employed the period of his absence in foreign travel. He visited Crete and the Ionian colonies, and thence it is said extended his travels to Egypt and India, in order to become acquainted with the institutions of all the civilized nations of the world.

During his absence, and the long minority of the young king, the affairs of the state had fallen into anarchy and confusion, and every one was ready to welcome Lycurgus on his return as a reformer. Fortified by the support of the Delphic oracle, he resolutely set at defiance all opposition, and remodelled the institutions of his country, both civil and military. He remained only long enough to see the success of his plans, and that everything was working well, and then made a pilgrimage to Delphi, binding the Spartans by oath to change nothing before his return home. The oracle promised him that Sparta should flourish, so long as they kept his laws inviolate. This promise he transmitted home, but he himself never returned. The manner of his death and the place of his burial remained for ever unknown, but his fellow-countrymen worshipped him as a deity.

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 884.

Some writers attribute to Lycurgus, in conjunction with Iphitus king of Elis, the revival of the great national Hellenic festival of the Olympic games. If so, the period at which he flourished must be fixed about a century later, viz. about the year in which Corœbus gained the prize, from which the events of Greek history first began to be dated by Olympiads.<sup>1</sup> The Olympic festival was celebrated every fourth year, at Olympia in Elis, in honour of Zeus. The games consisted of athletic exercises, such as races on foot, on horses, and in chariots, boxing, wrestling, leaping, the throwing the quoit (*discus*) and the javelin. The prize was only a wreath of wild olive, but it was the highest object of a Greek's ambition, and his native city felt itself equally honoured. His fellow-citizens escorted him home in triumph. Lyric poets celebrated his glories; he was relieved from the

<sup>1</sup> (B.C. 776.) The following is the rule for reducing dates, reckoned in years B.C. into Olympiads:—(1.) Subtract the year B.C. from 776; (2.) Divide the remainder by 4; (3.) Because 776 is itself the first year of the first Olympiad, 1 must be added to the quotient to give the Olympiad, and 1 to the remainder to give the year.

*Example.*—The date of the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ is B.C. 510.

$$776 - 510 = 266; \frac{266}{4} = 66,2.$$

∴ This date in Olympiads is Ol. lxxvii. 3.

The converse process is of course,

- (1.) Subtract 1 from the Olympiads, and 1 from the year.
- (2.) Multiply the remainder by 4.
- (3.) Subtract the product from 776.

*Example.*—The date of the battle of Marathon in Olympiads is Ol. lxxii. 3.

$$∴ 71,2 \times 4 = 286, \text{ and } 776 - 286 = 490.$$

∴ This date in years B.C. is B.C. 490.

payment of taxes, and a front seat in the theatre was assigned to him.

Besides the Olympic festival, three others of a similar character were celebrated in different parts of Greece. The Isthmian games were held twice in each Olympiad, at the Isthmus of Corinth, in honour of Poseidon (*Neptune*); the prize was a wreath of withered parsley. The Nemean were celebrated at the same intervals, at Nemea, in Argolis, in honour of Zeus, and in these the parsley wreath was green. Lastly, the Pythian were celebrated in the third year of each Olympiad, in honour of the Pythian Apollo, and the victor's crown was a chaplet of beech leaves. These three last-mentioned games included trials of skill in poetry and music as well as athletic exercises. The advantages of such reunions is manifest. The Greeks were thus reminded that they belonged to one great family, although the tastes, sentiments, and political predilections of its subdivisions were in many things totally opposed. They were led to forget, for a time, their petty jealousies and animosities, in a spirit of generous and friendly rivalry.

The Dorian institutions of Sparta, which are attributed to the legislation of Lycurgus, can be traced with sufficient accuracy in historical times, and there is no doubt that in principle, if not in detail, they were somewhat similar to those of Crete, and other states of Dorian origin. Three separate elements of different races constituted the population of Laconia. 1st, the Spartan citizens, the Dorian conquerors and their descendants. They were nobles, freeholders of the soil, the only inhabitants who enjoyed political

power, and were eligible to public offices. They resided within the city itself, they lived at public tables, to which each contributed; were subject to strict military discipline and training; the individual liberty of each was merged in his relation to the body politic to which he belonged. Hence the Spartan constitution was an aristocratical oligarchy. But as a nobility can never maintain its political position, or the mutual equality of the nobles, without wealth, or at least competence, in process of time there came to be two divisions of the Spartan nobility. Those who could afford to contribute to the public tables were considered peers or equals (*ὅμοιοι*); those who were too poor, sank into a subordinate rank, and being considered an inferior nobility (*ὑπομέλους*), lost their political franchise. Occupied entirely with politics and war, the Spartan citizens left trade and agriculture to the conquered population.

The second element constituted the middle class. They were mostly the descendants of the ancient Achæan inhabitants; they enjoyed the possession of personal freedom, but were excluded from political privileges. They served in the army, but they were by occupation merchants, tradesmen, manufacturers and agriculturists. They did not live in the city, but were scattered over the face of the country round about, and for that reason were denominated *Periœci* (*Περίοικοι*), or “dwellers round.”

Thirdly, the Helots, a name signifying captives, (from the Greek *ἔλω*, to take, or capture,) were serfs both menial and agricultural; the latter lived in villages like independent peasants, and paid a fixed propor-

tion of the produce of the land which they tilled to the Spartan proprietors. They were of Hellenic descent, and some of them were in a state of serfdom or villanage at the period of the Dorian conquest; others by obstinate resistance had provoked the resentment of their conquerors; others had again unsuccessfully conspired to recover their lost independence. Some of the Helots who were in domestic service were employed in the education of their masters' children, and by their fidelity in this, and other confidential positions, earned their emancipation. They then received the name of *Mothonos*. The terms also on which the agricultural Helots cultivated their farms, enabled those who were industrious to amass private property, and those who distinguished themselves by bravery in war, were rewarded with freedom and political privileges, and were called *Neodamodes* (*new citizens*).

Although the unfortunate Helots were considered as attached to the soil, and therefore could not be torn away from their homes and sold, still they were often treated with wanton cruelty. It is said that they were sometimes compelled to drink to intoxication, in order to show to the young Spartans how degrading a vice is drunkenness. But their country was more cruel and tyrannical to them than their masters. The small number of the Spartan nobles, who in the time of Lycurgus amounted to no more than to 9,000, and in the reign of Agis had been even diminished to 700, always rendered them suspicious and fearful of a revolt on the part of the Helot population. They resembled an army of occu-

pation garrisoned in a conquered country, and so completely did they regard the Helots as enemies, that even as a matter of form, war was periodically declared against them, so that any one of them might be put to death without a violation of the law.

The Cryptia (*κρυπτεία*) furnishes a terrible instance of this cruel jealousy. It was, as the name implies, a secret institution, which armed a body of young Spartans with daggers, and sent them through the country with permission to murder any Helots whom they might meet with. The pretended object of the Cryptia was to teach the Spartan youth bravery! The historian Thucydides relates an atrocious example of the same bloody policy. The Spartans, apprehending a revolt, invited by a public proclamation those Helots, who thought they had a claim to consideration, to present themselves in order to receive their freedom. Their idea was, that those who deemed themselves the worthiest were likely to be the most dangerous. Two thousand were selected from amongst those who offered themselves, who, with joy and gratitude at the glad prospect of liberty, marched to the temple wreathed with flowers in order to pay their vows and thanksgivings. Soon after they all disappeared no one knew how. There can be no doubt but that they were inhumanly murdered.

The government of Sparta was vested in the hands of two hereditary kings, a senate (*γερονσία*) of thirty (including the kings), and an assembly of the citizens. The senators were elected for life, and exercised judicial as well as legislative functions. There were also five magistrates, called Ephors, to whom



the kings and all other authorities, except the senate, were responsible. They were elected annually, and as they were the representatives of the citizens, their office bore some analogy to that of the Roman tribunes of the plebeians. Their power was absolute and irresponsible, but they exercised it with great caution and discretion.

The despotic authority of the state exercised a jealous interference with the domestic life of the citizen. Every weakly and deformed child was immediately exposed and left to die. All the boys were removed at the tender age of seven from their parents' care, and educated in public schools, where they were subjected to severe gymnastic discipline and military drill. They were taught to endure cold, and hunger, and corporal pain, and hardships of every kind, and were even publicly flogged so severely at the altar of Artemis (*Diana*), that some died under the torture. In order to fit them for the stratagems of war, they were bid to steal, and only punished if they were so awkward as to be found out. The grand feature of Spartan education was subordination to authority, and reverence for age. Their literary accomplishments were confined to singing sacred hymns and warlike songs, which they accompanied on the lyre. Eloquence was despised, and that brevity which is from them called *Læonic*, was the characteristic of Spartan, or Laconian, oratory.

No citizen was allowed to live with his wife and family. Like a soldier he dined at mess and slept in barracks, where his fare was of the plainest and hardest kind. The Spartan black broth has passed

into a proverb, and hunger seems to have been the only sauce that could render it palatable.

The discipline to which the women were also subjected was such as to render them worthy mothers of Spartan warriors, and fostered that heroic self-devotion and enthusiastic patriotism for which they are distinguished in history.<sup>1</sup> The Spartans well knew that intercourse with foreign nations would introduce and foster liberal politics, and as their whole policy was oligarchical, their laws forbade foreign travel, without express permission, and the residence of foreigners at Sparta was discouraged. Commerce was rendered almost impossible, because the possession of the precious metals was not permitted, and the current money of Sparta was of iron when the rest of Greece was using silver coins. So far was this dread of contact with other nations carried, that the Spartan constitution ventured even to check the warlike propensities of the nation, and positively forbade the pursuit of a flying enemy.

<sup>1</sup> The Spartan mother readily devoted her son's life to the cause of her country, and taught him to prefer death to dishonour. "Bring back this shield," said one to her warrior boy, "or be brought back upon it!" The following similar anecdote is preserved in the *Anthologia*:—

"A Spartan, his companion slain,  
Alone from battle fled;  
His mother, kindling with disdain  
That she had borne him, struck him dead.  
For courage and not birth alone  
In Sparta testifies a son."

*Trans. by W. COWPER.*



Ruins of the Temple of Jupiter at Aegina.

## CHAPTER IV.

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF THE MESSENIAN WARS—RHIANUS—MYRON—PAUSANIAS—COMMONLY RECEIVED ACCOUNT OF THESE WARS—FIRST MESSENIAN WAR—SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF ITHOME—END OF THE WAR—TARENTUM FOUNDED—SECOND MESSENIAN WAR—MARVELLOUS LEGEND OF ARISTOMENES—HE FORTIFIES HIMSELF ON MOUNT EIRA—HIS ESCAPE FROM THE CEADAS—EIRA SURPRISED AND TAKEN BY THE SPARTANS—COMPLETE SUBJUGATION OF MESSEANIA—FURTHER EXTENSION OF THE DOMINION OF SPARTA.

FABLE and tradition mingle largely with the history of the earliest wars in which Sparta engaged. Her supremacy over Messenia sufficiently attests the fact that there must have been Messenian wars, and it is probable that her dominion was not established until after severe and repeated struggles. But it is impossible to know either the events or the chronology of the period at which they took place. Tradition

furnished a Cretan epic poet, named Rhianus, who flourished at the commencement of the third century before Christ, with materials which were embellished by his own imagination. Myron, his contemporary, drew from the same sources; and Pausanias, who wrote nearly 900 years after the events which he professed to record, compiled his narrative from the poem of Rhianus, and the history of Myron. The following is the commonly received story of these wars.

On the ridge of the Taygetus, which formed the natural frontier of the two states, the Laconians and Messenians had a common temple sacred to Artemis. On some occasion of solemn meeting,<sup>1</sup> a quarrel broke out between the two nations, in which Teleclus, the Spartan king, was slain. Each people charged the other with being in the wrong, but no further consequences immediately ensued. Some years afterwards a private quarrel broke out about a herd of cattle, of which a Spartan named Evœphnus had robbed Polychares, a Messenian of distinguished eminence, and the son of the latter was treacherously slain. Polychares, unable to obtain redress, took the law into his own hands, and murdered every Spartan who fell into his power. The Spartans then made it a public quarrel, and demanded the surrender of Polychares, which being refused, they without any declaration of war made a sudden attack upon the frontier town of Amphibia, took it, and put all the inhabitants to the sword.

For a few years the Spartans carried on a predatory warfare, which caused their adversaries such

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 743. Olymp. ix. 2.

annoyance, that they removed from the open plains, and fortified themselves upon the strong and commanding heights of Mount Ithome (*M. Vourkano*). They then consulted the Delphic oracle as to the means of obtaining relief, and the answer which they received was, that a virgin of the royal family of the *Æpytidæ*, who were so called from *Æpytus*, the son of *Cresphontes*, must be sacrificed. The selection was made by casting lots, and the poor victim upon whom the lot fell escaped. Upon this *Aristodemus*, a member of the royal family, supplied her place by slaying his daughter with his own hand.

The superstitious feelings of the Spartans were aroused by this fulfilment of the oracle, and for six years they abstained from further hostilities. This delay gave the Messenians time to complete the fortifications of Ithome, so that when the Spartan army, under their king *Theopompus*, assaulted the place, no decisive result was obtained. *Euphaes*, the Messenian king, fell, and *Aristodemus* was elected to the vacant throne. Five years of harassing warfare passed away, and the Messenians in their distress again consulted the oracle.

Victory was now promised to that people which should first consecrate one hundred tripods to the Ithomæan Jove. News of this answer reached the ears of the Spartans, and the advice which they had received from the same divine source, was to make use of stratagem. One of them, therefore, with true Laconian cunning, moulded the tripods in clay, conveyed them to Ithome disguised as a peasant, and placed them in array before the altar of the god. The Messenians, now too late, offered up one hundred

tripods carved in wood. The favour of heaven was already forestalled by their crafty foes; awful prodigies warned them of their coming fate; dogs howled gloomily in the streets: the shield fell with a loud clang from the arm of the image of Artemis, a vision of his murdered child haunted the sleeping monarch, and in despair he stabbed himself on her grave.

Five more months Ithome was besieged, and then its surrender concluded a war which had continued twenty years.<sup>1</sup> Sparta had reigned supreme; the strong fortress was razed to the ground; some of the vanquished found refuge in the mountains of Arcadia, but the bulk of the populace were made Helots, and retained their lands on condition of paying a rent of one-half of the produce to their conquerors; these rents were divided amongst some of the *Periæci*, who had intermarried with the Spartans. Some of them, however, feeling that their position was still not one of political equality, migrated to Italy, and founded the Dorian settlement of Tarentum (*Taranto*).<sup>2</sup>



Didrachm of Tarentum.

A generation of subjection and slavery passed away, and the Messenians again ventured to raise their heads, under the command of a patriot of royal race, Aristomenes.<sup>3</sup> His marvellous exploits form the sub-

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 724. Ol. xiv. 1.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 708. Ol. xviii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> B. C. 685. Ol. xxiii. 4.

ject of the epic poem of Rhianus. Being promised aid from Argos and Arcadia, he induced his fellow-



Gold Stater of Tarentum.

countrymen to throw off the Spartan yoke: he promised to lead their armies to battle, but, though of the house of the Œpytidæ, he would not accept the crown. A battle was fought in which his gallantry was conspicuous, and in the darkness of the night he hung up a shield from amongst the captured spoils in the temple of Athenè Chalciaëcus (*of the Brazen house*), as a votive offering for the victory of his people; the superstitious fears of the Spartans were awakened, and they had recourse as usual to the Delphic Oracle. The answer given them was to seek aid from Athens. The Athenians sent them Tyrtæus, a lame poet and schoolmaster, really in order to evade the request, but they could not have sent them a better leader, for the soul-stirring inspiration of his songs revived the drooping energies of the Spartans.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless the Messenians fought and conquered, and the exploits of their hero Aristomenes formed the subject of many a ballad. The bards sung how that once upon a time in the ardour of pursuit, he let fall his shield beneath a tree whereon sat the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux), watching the battle. He sought for it in vain; the twin gods had conveyed

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 683. Ol. xxiv. 2.

it away to the wonder-working cave of Trophonius, where it was subsequently found. Again, the same deities, together with their fair sister Helen, appeared to him in a dream, and warned him against attempting a night attack upon Sparta, which he had meditated. On other occasions he led a select band of warriors in raids against the Laconian villages, and once, in the true spirit of chivalry, he rescued some Spartan maidens from the rude hands of his followers, and restored them, on payment of ransom, to their parents. In the third year a battle was fought in which their Arcadian allies deserted them, and the Messenians were defeated.

The loss of this battle compelled Aristomenes to fortify himself in the fastnesses of Mount Eira, and to content himself with annoying his enemy by frequent sorties; in one of these he and fifty of his soldiers were taken prisoners and thrown into a pit at Sparta, called Ceadas, in which criminals were usually thrown. As he fell, an eagle supported him on its expanded wings, and he reached the bottom in safety, but his fellow-sufferers were dashed to pieces. Three days he lay without hope, and then he saw a fox stealthily creeping by him; seizing it by the tail, he was led by the animal to the hole by which it had entered the cave,—thus he effected his escape back to his fellow-countrymen.

During the eleven years in which he maintained his position in Eira, many daring exploits are recorded of him. Thrice he offered to Ithomæan Zeus the accustomed sacrifice on having slain one hundred foes; on one occasion he was surprised and carried in bonds to a cottage, wherein dwelt a widow and



her daughter; the maiden had dreamed that a lion without claws was brought to her bound. The arrival of Aristomenes interpreted the dream, and having compassion on the prisoner, she made his captors intoxicated and set him free.

One stormy night the sentinels at Eira were surprised by an attack of the Spartans, who meeting with no opposition, took the place. The garrison and all the inhabitants were permitted to evacuate the fortress, and the mournful band with their wives and children found a refuge in Arcadia. Aristomenes then proposed to take advantage of the absence of the Spartan army, and to assault the city; but Aristocrates, the Messenian king, basely sent information to the enemy. His subjects discovered his treason and stoned him to death.



Obverse.



Reverse.

Coin of Rhodes.

For seventeen years the brave Messenians struggled in vain for their independence, but they were now completely subdued, and all who had not fled were reduced to Helotism.<sup>1</sup> Aristomenes sailed to Rhodes, where in obedience to an oracle the king of that island married his daughter; his sons led a band of exiles to Italy, and founded the town of Messana (*Messina*). The territory of Sparta now extended

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 668. Ol. xxviii. 1.

over the whole southern portion of the peninsula, from sea to sea.

More than a century afterwards she endeavoured to extend her territories further northward. The little city of Tegea had long bravely withstood the attacks of her powerful neighbour, but the Spartans still persisted, and at length the Delphic oracle bid them search for the bones of Orestes at Tegea.<sup>1</sup> Their search was successful, victory accompanied their arms, and the Tegeatæ—although they retained their possessions—were forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Sparta. Argos also was, as we have seen, originally a royal city, and always continued the most formidable rival of Sparta. The first important advantage which the Spartans gained was the annexation of the frontier plain of Cynuria. Subsequently the Argives endeavoured to recover it, and it was arranged that the question should be settled by a battle between three hundred champions on each side.<sup>2</sup> After a bloody combat, only one Spartan named Othryades, and two Argives, remained alive. The Argives did not know their adversary still lived, and left the field, and the Spartan was thus enabled to bear home trophies of victory. Accordingly both parties claimed to be conquerors, and so after all a battle was fought, and the Argives were conquered. Othryades, like a true Spartan, ashamed to return home when all his brave comrades were slain, stabbed himself to the heart.

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 560. Ol. lv. 1.

<sup>2</sup> B.C. 547. Ol. lyiii. 2.



Frieze of Parthenon.

## CHAPTER V.

ANCIENT HISTORY OF ATTICA—THE FOUR ORIGINAL TRIBES OR CASTES  
 —THE NEXT DIVISION INTO THREE CLASSES—ARCHONS ELECTED FOR LIFE  
 —DECENNIAL ARCHONS—ANNUAL ARCHONS—LEGISLATION OF DRACO—  
 AGE OF TYRANTS IN GREECE—CELEBRATED TYRANTS—CONSPIRACY OF  
 CYLON—LAW OF SOLON—FIRST SACRED WAR—AMPHICTYONIES—LAW  
 REFORMS OF SOLON—HIS POLITICAL SYSTEM—COURT OF AREOPAGUS—  
 FINANCIAL SYSTEM—METÆCI—CRÆSUS.

As the Spartans were the leading people in the Peloponnese, so the Athenians were the leading state in Greece north of the Isthmus. Although the authors of the successive changes which their political constitution underwent are mythical, still the phases themselves, which are now about to be described, are probably historically true. The population of Attica after its occupation by the Ionians was like

that of the Greek colonies in Asia, grouped together in twelve independent states, forming a federal union; Cecrops, their earliest king, who is said to have migrated from Egypt, was, according to tradition, the author of this state of things, and from him the capital of the union, afterwards called Athens, was then named Cecropia. In one point the policy of Cecrops reminds us of Egypt, for the people were divided into four orders and tribes, who like the Egyptian castes followed distinct occupations. The *Geleontes*, or *Teleontes*, were the priest-nobles, who owned the sacred territory of Eleusis, where also the priestly exiles of the first Messenian war had found a welcome. The *Hoplites*, or warrior caste, were the descendants of the Ionian conquerors. The subjugated people was represented by two tribes,—the *Ægicores*, or goat-herds, who pastured their cattle on the barren mountain sides, and the *Argades*, who as herdsmen and peasants tilled the plain, or practised the mechanical arts in towns and villages.

The next change, to which allusion has been already made, is ascribed to Theseus; namely, the amalgamation of these independent states into one nation, and the centralising of all public business at Athens, as the capital. Whatever was the cause of this change it was a natural one, for centralisation generally accompanies political progress, of which the history of the Athenian people presents one of the most remarkable examples. At this political phase we are told of three tribes, no longer castes, but classes:—the *Eupatridæ*, or hereditary nobility; *Geomorî*, or agriculturists; and *Demiurgi*, or artisans. In the class of the nobles

were included the priests also, for to the hands of the Eupatridæ were entrusted all the affairs of religion, as well as all political power.

The government of Attica was originally monarchical; and the revolution, which at some period overthrew the hereditary power and substituted a civil magistrate, is embodied in the legendary story of Codrus. His devoted patriotism, as it is said, determined his grateful subjects to refuse the royal title to any successor, and to confer on his son Medon only that of Archon: he owed his position to the suffrages of the people, although he was elected for life; he was responsible to them for the exercise of his power, and was in fact somewhat like a Lord Protector or President of a republic.<sup>1</sup>

This form of constitution is said to have continued for three centuries, and then, although the archonship was still the appanage of the two royal houses—the Codridæ and Alcmaeonidæ—its duration was limited to ten years.<sup>2</sup> About a generation later,<sup>3</sup> it was thrown open to all the Eupatridæ, and the next generation saw the Archonship made annual, and the number of Archons increased to nine.<sup>4</sup> The chief of these magistrates was styled Archon Eponymus (*name-giver*), because the year was distinguished by his name, just as at Sparta by the name of the Ephor, and at Argos by that of the priestess of Herē (*Juno*). The second in precedence was called Archon Basileus (*king*), because he retained some of the royal functions, viz. the performance of certain religious ceremonies,

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 1068.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 752. Ol. vii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> B. C. 714. Ol. xvi. 3.

<sup>4</sup> B. C. 685. Ol. xxiv. 2.

and the reception of foreign ambassadors. An analogous circumstance to this is found in Roman history after the change of the constitution from regal to consular, or prætorial.<sup>1</sup> The third was the Archon Polemarch (*Commander of the forces*). The remaining six were styled Thesmothetæ (*Law-makers*), and presided in the six Athenian courts of judicature.

Although by these successive changes, which took place gradually, and not, as the legend would have us suppose, *per saltum*, the liberal principles which distinguish the Ionian race were making way, still the masses of the people were politically powerless; all power was vested in the hands of the nobles. Industry, therefore, had not free scope; wealth accumulated in the hands of the latter, the former were bowed down by poverty and debt. The relative state of the two ranks was just the same as that of the Roman patricians and plebeians. Discontent increased rapidly and led to social disorganization; the nobles became more tyrannical than ever, and found a stern supporter in the celebrated legislator Draco.<sup>2</sup> He did not redress the wrongs of the people, but curbed them with a heavier chain. His one-sided legislation was so severe, that his code was said to have been written in blood. All crimes alike were punishable with death. The savage cruelty of the Athenian code, until softened by subsequent reforms of advancing civilization, thus lived in the recollections of the people as the laws of the sanguinary Draco.

Whatever were the legislative reforms which took place during this period, political disorganization

<sup>1</sup> See History of Rome, ch. iv.    <sup>2</sup> B.C. 624. Ol. xxxix. 1.

became worse ; and it is clear that this evil was not confined to Athens, but that revolutions were simultaneously taking place in almost all the other states of Greece, except Lacædemon. For more than a century and a half<sup>1</sup> we hear of the existence of *Tyrants and Tyrannies*. It must be borne in mind, that the meaning of these terms is very different from that which we attach to them in modern times. About this time the yeomen and trading classes were rapidly advancing in wealth and intelligence, and although they were ripe for freer institutions, were not as yet strong enough to wrest them for themselves from their oppressive and arbitrary masters,—they needed a leader. At such a crisis, some individual ambitious of power, but still in advance of his age, would put himself at their head, and become their champion against the nobles. A tyranny, then, was the transition state through which a people passed in the process of emancipation from purely aristocratical or oligarchical institutions. Very frequently the tyrant himself was a noble, and opposed himself to the encroachments of his order. But in the history of all countries examples are numerous, in which the most able and intelligent nobles have become the champions of the rights of the commons. Hence these men often laid the foundation of their country's greatness, and were, as Thucydides tells us, the patrons of learning and virtue. After they had answered their purpose, they in their turn became an oppressive evil. The sweets of power tempted them to cling to it, and outstay their time. They main-

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 675. Ol. xxvi. 1. to B. C. 500. Ol. lxvii. 3.

tained their position by violent means, and became "Tyrants," in our sense of the word; the assumption of a bodyguard was a sign that the foundations of their unconstitutional power were crumbling to decay, and in the next generation some bloody revolution drove their sons from the preeminence which it was no longer politically expedient that they should occupy.

Amongst the most celebrated *Tyrants* were Clisthenes of Sicyon, from whom was maternally descended

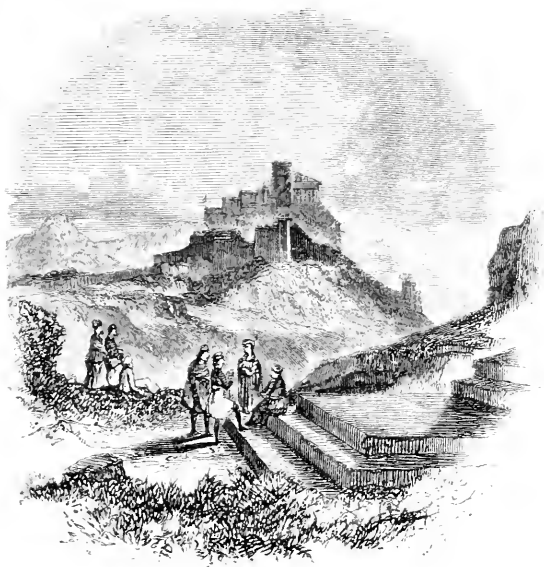


Periander.

Clisthenes, the great regenerator of the Athenian constitution; Periander of Corinth, who for his love of learning was reckoned amongst the seven sages



of Greece; and Theagenes of Megara, the fortunes of whose family were mixed up with those of Athens in the following manner. Cylon, a wealthy Eupatrid, and moreover an Olympian victor, had married the daughter of the Megarian tyrant, and probably this alliance induced him to organize a conspiracy against the aristocratic government of Athens.<sup>1</sup> The Delphic



The Acropolis of Athens, from the Pnyx

oracle bid him seize the citadel at the greatest feast of Zeus (*Jupiter*). This response he applied to the Olympic games, and at the head of his party made

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 612. Ol. xlii. 1.

himself master of the Acropolis during the succeeding festival. He had, however, misunderstood the ambiguous oracle, for the Athenians held their feast of the Diasia, which was celebrated in honour of Zeus, in the highest estimation. The nobles besieged him, and although he escaped, his partisans, famine-stricken, took sanctuary at the altar of Pallas Athene. Megacles, one of the great Alcmaeonid family, who was Archon, promised the besieged safe-conduct if they would leave their place of refuge. They trusted his word, and he treacherously massacred them all. This act of sacrilege brought a curse upon his family, and they were exiled, but notwithstanding this atonement it still clung to the whole country.

A plague ravaged the land, and all means of propitiating the anger of heaven seemed ineffectual. The Athenians then invited Epimenides, a Cretan prophet, whose wisdom and sanctity were celebrated through Greece, to declare the will of the gods and purify the people from their sin. In this work Epimenides was aided by Solon, who used the influence which this crisis gave him, to introduce a thorough law-reform. Solon was a sage, a poet, and a patriot, and worthily held a place among the seven wise men. He was of royal blood, being descended from Codrus. Necessity compelled him to engage in mercantile pursuits, and thus he gained that practical wisdom and those enlarged and liberal views which result from foreign travel and intercourse with mankind. He was also ready to sympathise with that enterprising commercial class which was the source of Athenian greatness and prosperity.

When he returned from his travels, he found the Megarians in possession of the beautiful island of Salamis (*Coulouri*), which had revolted from Athens. He would not permit his fellow-countrymen to submit to this encroachment, but, dressed as a herald, and pretending madness, he rushed into the midst of the assembled people and recited a poem, in which he appealed to Athenian sympathies in behalf of the island. An expedition against the Megarians was enthusiastically voted, and put under the command of Solon.<sup>1</sup> Although he succeeded in compelling the enemy to evacuate Salamis, the matter was finally referred to the arbitration of Sparta, who decided in favour of the Athenians.

To the advice of Solon also was owing the Crissæan, or first holy war, which ended, after ten years' duration, in the total destruction of Crissa (*Crisso*), and the consecration of its rich territory to the god of Delphi (*Castri*).

The circumstances which gave rise to this war, render it necessary to give some account of one of the most important amongst Greek federal institutions. In order to maintain by religious sanctions an union between independent states, certain associations were formed between neighbouring cities, which met together periodically, and celebrated certain sacred rites in common. These confederations were termed Amphictyonies, (*unions of neighbours*), and one of them, which was the most celebrated, and which existed prior to the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese, was called, by way of preeminence, "the Amphictyonic Council." The number of states

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 600. Ol. xlv. 1.

which sent deputies to this assembly was twelve. Each sent two delegates, one for religious (*Hieromnemon*), the other for political purposes (*Pylagoras*). The council met twice in the year, in the spring at Delphi, in the autumn at Thermopylæ, (*Therma*.) Its highest office was to protect and defend the oracle of Delphi; but it was also bound to protect the members of the league. It may be easily imagined that the leading states often exceeded their powers, and made the council an instrument of political intrigue.

In the days of Solon,<sup>1</sup> the Crissæans quarrelled with the Delphians about the tolls which they levied at their port of Cirrha; they invaded the holy territory, and sacrilegiously plundered the temple. Solon was one of the delegates from Athens, and it was at his recommendation that war was declared.

In the second year of the war, Solon was elected Archon, and moreover invested with full power to reform the Athenian laws and constitution. He was universally popular: the nobles looked to him to stave off a revolution; the people to redress their wrongs. He might have been *tyrant*, but his unselfish patriotism made him the regenerator of Athens. Thus, in the case of that city, the epoch of its *tyranny* was deferred for a season. As in the early days of the Roman republic, debt and usury ground the poor to the dust. Solon's first measure, therefore, was the *Seisactheia* (*throwing off burdens*); this relieved all estates from mortgage, and abolished the power which the creditor had over the persons of his debtors. He then reduced the rate of interest, raised the value of money about one-

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 595. Ol. xlv. 2.

third, and thus enabled the debtor to discharge his obligations by paying fifteen shillings in the pound. He then relaxed the severity of the criminal code attributed to Draco, making murder alone punishable with death; and commenced a political reform of the same kind as that ascribed to the Roman king Servius Tullius. For the exclusive privileges of birth, he substituted the qualification of property. This measure did not, any more than the parallel case at Rome, produce a sudden or violent change; for the Eupatridæ, like the Patricians, constituted the wealthiest class, and hence they retained their power on the score of their wealth, though not on account of the accidental advantage of birth. But eventually it made an important difference. Under the old constitution no one, even by the greatest merit, could attain power or distinction except he was born noble; whereas under the new system everything was open to enterprise, because the attainment of wealth is not an impossibility to the poorest and humblest. The measure was at once conservative and liberal.

Solon divided the citizens into four classes. The first were called the *Pentacosiomedimni*, i.e. those whose estates produced annually five hundred Attic *Medimni*, or about seven hundred and fifty bushels. These alone were eligible to the higher official positions, both civil and military. The second formed the equestrian order, or knights, (*Hippeis*), whose property produced three hundred medimni and upwards. They served in the cavalry, and were, as well as the class next below them, eligible as senators. The third class were the *Zengitæ*, so called because

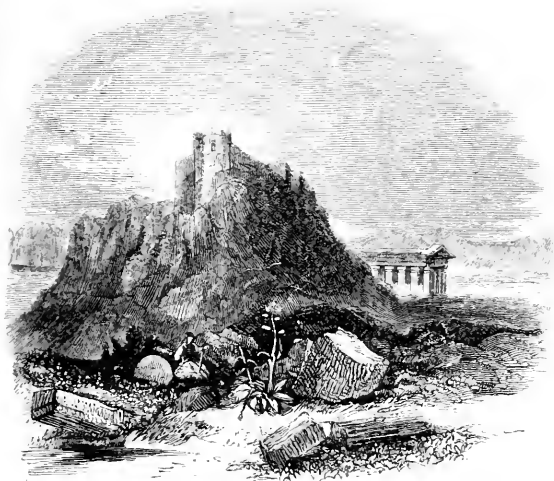
they could keep a yoke, or pair, of oxen. Their qualification was one hundred and fifty medimni. They served in the army as heavy armed troops (*Hoplitæ*). The fourth class, *Thetes*, comprehended the rest of the population. They were the light armed troops, were eligible to serve as jurymen (*Dicasta*), and had votes in the public assembly (*Ecclesia*). They were excluded from public office, but were exempt from income tax, to which the other classes were liable.

All officers were responsible to the *Ecclesia*, and were elected by it. The Senate (*Boulê*), or council of four hundred, was instituted by Solon, and consisted of one hundred members chosen by the *Ecclesia* out of each of the four tribes. It is also probable that he appointed the great court of the *Helicæa*, which consisted of six thousand citizens. Its functions were the revision of all important measures after they had passed the *Ecclesia*, and it also constituted one vast jury for the trial of all offences against the state. In after times it was divided into separate courts.

To the ancient court or council of the Areopagus (*Mars' Hill*), Solon not only secured its ancient political and judicial privileges, but also entrusted it with new powers. The members of this court were all noble, and had served the office of Archon. It took cognisance of cases of murder, treason, and impiety. Solon in addition made it a court of review, and also conferred upon it a censorial power over the morals and habits of the whole people. It was, therefore, from its constitution, the stronghold of the old aristocracy.

The political division of the four tribes, introduced

by Solon principally for financial purposes, was most important to the maritime and commercial prosperity of



Mus. Brit.

Athens. So long as the aristocracy of birth continued unimpaired, each tribe had been like the Roman patrician tribes, subdivided only into three *Phratricæ*, each *Phratría* into thirty *Gentes* or clans; and each *Gens* into thirty and probably afterwards into an indefinite number of families. This mode of division still continued for the sake of social, family, and religious purposes; but to this was superadded by Solon another principle of division. Each tribe was divided into thirds (*Trittyes*); each *Trittyes* into four *Naucrariæ*. The division was a local one, and each

of the forty-eight localities raised a certain amount of taxes and troops, and one vessel for the service of the state. Lastly, Solon encouraged foreigners to settle in Attica, as traders and manufacturers. These, who were called *Metœeci* (*sojourners*), paid a small poll-tax, as the price of the privilege of free trade as well as protection for their persons and property. They could not become freeholders or possess a political franchise.

When Solon had completed his reforms, he, like Lycurgus, solemnly bound his fellow-citizens to observe them, and then bid adieu to his fatherland. During his absence, a legend adopted by Herodotus tells that he visited the court of Crœsus, the rich monarch of Lydia. The king showed him his boundless treasures, and asked him whether he did not think him the happiest man. But Solon answered, that it was impossible to pronounce any one blessed until he had arrived at the end of life. The king was vexed; but when the victorious Cyrus conquered Lydia and condemned its king to be burnt on the funeral pile, just as the pile was lighted, Crœsus called to mind the words of the sage, and uttered with a loud voice the name of Solon. Cyrus asked what he meant, and learning hence a sad lesson of the instability of human fortune, gave life to his vanquished foe.

“ There is a silence sad and deep, like the silence of the tomb;  
With awe-struck eye each stander-by awaits the monarch's doom;  
When hark! his voice from forth the pyre in hurried accents  
came,  
And thrice in tones of hopeless woe he called on Solon's name.—



“ For the days of old came o’er him,—he bethought him of the hour

When to Sardis came the Athenian sage, and saw his pride of power;

‘ Yet, all survey’d,’ he calmly said, ‘ I may not call thee blest  
Till life is o’er, and change no more, in the realms of endless rest.’

\* \* \* \* \*

“ The victor heard the warning word, and it seem’d both sad and true,

And he gazed awhile on the fatal pile with a fix’d and thoughtful view;

He thought upon the wondrous change that captive prince had known,

And musing on another’s fate, he bethought him of his own,—

“ ‘ To-morrow’s hour the sky may lower, the storm descend on me,  
And I, like yonder victim pale, may doom’d and helpless be;—

For who can tell the ways of fate, and what a day may bring?’

And he bade them quench the kindling pyre, and save his brother king.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ They strove in vain;—the flames ascend still nearer and more near,

They close around the fated king. Oh! sight most sad and drear;

The pious king who loved the gods, and to each temple high

Sent presents rare beyond compare,—is it thus that he must die?

“ He look’d around—no help was found; the flames around him glare—

With streaming eye, to Phœbus high he breathed a broken prayer;—

‘ If e’er my gifts in former days were pleasant unto thee.—

Oh, Delphian king! some succour bring, in mercy look on me.’

\* \* \* \* \*

“ The holy power has sent the shower his worshipper to save,

For on Delphi’s shrine the eye divine beheld the gifts he gave;

The fire is quench’d, the pious king from harm and danger free,

For they who love the gods above shall ne’er forsaken be.”

E. BOLE.



Reze of the Parthenon

## CHAPTER VI.

STATE OF PARTIES IN ATTICA—PEDIEI, HYPERACRII, PARALI—ASCENDANCY OF PISISTRATUS—COMBINATION AGAINST HIM—HIS EXILE AND TRIUMPH—DEATH OF SOLON—SECOND EXILE, RETURN AND DEATH—THE HOMERIC POEMS—CONTROVERSY RESPECTING THEM—DIFFERENT THEORIES—THE MOST PROBABLE ACCOUNT OF THEIR ORIGIN—HOMERIDE—RHAPSODISTS—THE DISPERSED POEMS COLLECTED BY PISISTRATUS.

WISE as Solon's constitution was, his measures were powerless to save Athens from that crisis through which, as has been stated, almost all free states passed in their progress from aristocracy to democracy. She, like her neighbours, was destined to experience a "Tyranny" for a time. Sparta and Argos formed exceptions to this rule; but the reason why they had no "Tyrants," was that they were never emancipated

from an oligarchical constitution. The introduction of the qualification of property at Athens did not succeed in obliterating the deeply-seated hatred between the conquering and conquered races, or in allaying the bitter jealousies between the noble and commercial classes. Parties were arrayed under three names, which plainly point out the origin and nature of their mutual animosities. The party of the nobles were called the *Pediai*, (plain-men,) because they occupied, as might be expected, the fertile plains and pastures of Attica.

The old conquered inhabitants who were driven back to the mountain fastnesses and bare hill-sides, just as the British were driven to the Welsh mountains, and the Celts to the highlands of Scotland, were called the *Hyperacrii* (mountaineers). The new commercial and maritime class occupied the long line of the Attic coast, and were called the *Parali*, or coast-men.

During Solon's absence, the strife of faction became more bitter than ever, and on his return he found these parties headed by three nobles. The *Pediai*, led by Lycurgus, were clamouring for an aristocracy. The *Parali*, who formed the rich middle classes, led by Megacles, an Alcmaeonid, were desirous of a moderate liberal government. The *Hyperacrii*, who were the poorest, under the guidance of Solon's cousin Pisistratus, wished to crush their opponents and establish a pure democracy. The eloquence of Pisistratus prevailed over the remonstrances of Solon, and at length, appealing to the excited passions of the masses, by pretending that his life was in danger,

the people voted him a guard for his protection, and by their means he made himself master of the citadel.<sup>1</sup>

At first the nobles and rich commercial class combined against him, and he was driven into exile, but it was soon found that the interests of commerce were more intimately bound up with those of the poor than of the nobles. Megacles came over to the cause of Pisistratus: invited him to return, gave him his daughter in marriage, and established him as "Tyrant" of Athens. He entered the city in triumph, and a woman representing Pallas Athenè conducted him to the Acropolis. Although Solon had strenuously opposed him, Pisistratus left him to the quiet enjoyment of his honourable old age, but he lived only a short time, and died at the age of fourscore years.

Pisistratus, however, treated his wife with contempt, because the curse of sacrilege was upon her family. Megacles therefore again joined Lycurgus, and the "Tyrant" was compelled to fly to Eretria (*Palaio Castro*), in Eubœa (*Negropont*), where he remained ten years. Mercenaries from Argos, troops from Naxos, and subsidies from those Greek states in which he had influence, enabled him to strike a blow for the recovery of his power. He landed at Marathon, where he was joined by his partisans, marched for Athens, gained a decisive victory over the joint forces of Megacles and Lycurgus, proclaimed a general amnesty, and retook Athens. The Alcmaeonidæ, deserted by their supporters, left the country.

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 560. Ol. lv. 1.

Pisistratus had the good of his country at heart, ruled with justice and liberality, and administered the public finances with economy and prudence. He had a taste for literature and the arts, and his wealth enabled him to be a munificent patron, and to embellish Athens with splendid buildings. During his so-called "Tyranny," Athens was blest with peace and prosperity, and he died at a good old age, leaving his power to his two sons, Hippias and Hipparchus. For one of his acts not only his own people, but the whole world, owe him a debt of gratitude, for he it was who collected and preserved the scattered fragments of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

The well-known controversy respecting the existence of Homer, and the origin of the Homeric poems, renders it necessary to say a few words on this question. Under the above title are included other lesser poems besides the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, but Herodotus,<sup>1</sup> and Aristotle,<sup>2</sup> denied their genuineness; they may therefore be at once rejected. But the ancients never doubted of the personality of Homer. Pindar,<sup>3</sup> Plato,<sup>4</sup> Aristotle,<sup>5</sup> and Cicero,<sup>6</sup> all assumed this fact, and none of them doubted that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were the works of one mind. The first attack upon the old creed was made by some of the Alexandrian grammarians, who asserted that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were the works of different authors. They were hence called "the separators."<sup>7</sup> Their

<sup>1</sup> Herod. ii. 117; iv. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Arist. Poet.

<sup>3</sup> Nem. viii. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Republ. iii. iv. vii.

<sup>5</sup> Nicom. Eth. ix. 10.

<sup>6</sup> De Orat. iii. 34.

<sup>7</sup> Οἱ χωρίζοντες.

theory, however, met with ill success and was forgotten. It was again revived in England by Payne Knight, and also defended by the German critic Nitzsch.

At the conclusion of the seventeenth century, two French critics, Hedelin and Perrault, asserted that these marvellous poems were formed out of several



Homer

ancient lays, the works of different poets, and this view was adopted and defended by the learning and ingenuity of Heyne. Early in the next century, Bentley proposed a new solution of the difficulty; namely,

that Homer wrote a sequel or series of songs to be sung at festivals; the Iliad he composed for men, the Odyssey for women, and these lays were not collected together until after an interval of 500 years. In 1770, Wood wrote an essay on the question whether the Homeric poems were written, which suggested to Wolf the thorough examination of the subject; and, in 1775, his *Prolegomena*, or Preface to Homer, appeared, in which he endeavoured to prove that the poems were a collection of separate lays, arranged and put together for the first time by order of Pisistratus.

His arguments in favour of this theory were, (1,) that the art of writing was not sufficiently advanced, and writing materials were not sufficiently convenient in early times to allow of the supposition that the poems were written; and, (2,) that therefore, as they must have been orally recited, it is improbable that any poem so long as the Iliad or Odyssey could have been composed or retained in the memory. Of his first position there is little or no doubt. His second argument has no weight, for it is impossible to form any idea of the natural powers of the memory when obliged to depend upon its own resources. The aid too of metre and rhythm was so appreciated by the ancient Greeks, that they symbolised it in the legend that the Muses were the daughters of Mnemosyne, or Memory. The question, however, of Homer's personality is not affected by admitting the fact that the poems were composed and transmitted without the help of writing. This Wolf saw, and therefore, (3,) he denied the poetical unity of the poems.<sup>1</sup> To

<sup>1</sup> Lachmann, also, the most sagacious of modern critics who have denied the personality of Homer, has not only maintained that

disprove this assertion would far exceed the limits of a short history: suffice it to say, that a few discrepancies are rather a proof of genuineness than the reverse; and that the three following points, which are all that are necessary to the argument, are easily established by a study of the poems.

I. Similarity of style, taste, and feeling.

II. Unity of plan.

III. Consistency in the characters.

The following is the most probable account of the origin of the poems. In the earliest ages of Greece, bards were wont to sing to the accompaniment of the lyre, lays and legends of heroic exploits, and thus gave rise to an unwritten ballad literature. About B. C. 850, there arose one mastermind, whose powers could comprehensively grasp these varied traditions, and weave them into one great epic story. This bard of bards was a Greek, certainly an Asiatic, probably a Smyrnæan. What his name was matters not. After ages called him Homer. In those traditions of a warlike nature, he found materials for the *Iliad*; from those which sung of the arts of peace and the wonders of foreign lands he framed the *Odyssey*. He did not write them, but with the retentive memory of a poet absorbed in his theme, he sang portions at feast and revel to an admiring audience. Those who heard remembered—the poet himself passed away, but his poems still lived in the hearts of his countrymen, and his admirers, of whom there was a celebrated school in the island of Chios, called *Homeridæ*,

the boasted unity does not exist, but has even pointed out eighteen different, and totally distinct ballads of which he asserts that the *Iliad* is composed.



(*children of Homer*), wandered about reciting his inspired strains.

These wandering minstrels were called Rhapsodists. Some have derived the name from *ῥάβδος* (*a wand*), which they bore as the insignia of their office, others from *ῥάπτειν* (*to sew*), because they, as it were, stitched together many ballads into one poem. Thus the poems got broken up, dispersed, and separated. But when the art of writing so advanced as to furnish means of preserving them, copies were made and circulated amongst learned and educated Greeks. The Rhapsodists, however, had been guilty of accidental alterations, or wilful interpolations. Solon is said, by Diogenes Laertius,<sup>1</sup> first to have attempted the correction of these defects; and Pisistratus, following in his steps, collected and arranged the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* partly from the imperfect copies which existed, and partly doubtless, from oral tradition. Thus Homer became the standard of Greek poetic taste, and the foundation of the national literature.

<sup>1</sup> Diog. Laert. i. 57.



Portion of the Western Frieze of the Parthenon, British Museum.

## CHAPTER VII.

HIPPIAS AND HIPPARCHUS—CONSPIRACY OF HARMODIUS AND ARISTOGEITON—MUNIFICENCE OF THE ALCMEONIDE—THE SPARTANS INVADE ATTICA—HIPPIAS RETURNS TO SIGEUM—REFORMS OF CLISTHENES—OSTRACISM SAID TO HAVE BEEN INTRODUCED BY HIM—HIS EXILE AND RECALL—THE SPARTANS INVADE ATTICA—ENDEAVOUR TO RESTORE HIPPIAS—LITERATURE—HESIOD—ELEGY—SATIRE—MUSIC—LYRIC POETRY—THE NINE GREEK LYRIC POETS—THE SEVEN SAGES—GREEK PHILOSOPHY.

HIPPIAS and Hipparchus followed in their father's footsteps. They were, like him, patrons of literature and learned men, governed wisely, and reduced the income tax which Pisistratus had levied, from ten to five per cent. The people were happy, but as in the case of the royal dynasty at Rome, which came to an end about the same time, an act of private wrong caused their overthrow.

Harmodius and Aristogeiton were two young men of good family, and intimate friends. Hipparchus took offence at the former, and insolently forbade his sister to take part in a solemn religious procession. The two friends resolved to avenge the insult, and with a few partisans to assassinate the two brothers at the approaching Panathenaic festival, on which occasion all Athenians were accustomed to appear armed. It happened that Hippias alone was present at the festival; and the conspirators, seeing one of their accomplices conversing with the tyrant, imagined that they were betrayed. Concealing therefore their daggers in the myrtle boughs which they carried in the procession, they hastened back to Athens, and finding Hipparchus, stabbed him to the heart. The guards killed Harmodius on the spot, and Aristogeiton was afterwards seized, tortured, and slain. The popular ballads and drinking songs of Athens celebrated this act of private vengeance as a deed of heroic patriotism.

Hippias then became really a tyrant: his treasury was enriched by extortion, and his sway supported by bloody executions. In order to ensure foreign aid, he married his daughter to the son of Hippocles, tyrant of Lampsacus, a great favourite of Darius king of Persia. The discontent of his subjects tempted the Alcæonidæ to strike a blow for their restoration to their native country. They had employed their exile well in extending their influence in Greece; and having contracted to rebuild the temple of Delphi, which had been burnt down, they

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 514. Ol. lxvi. 3.

faced it with Parian marble, instead of with common stone. This munificence conciliated the favour of the priests, and whenever the Spartans sent to consult the oracle, they were always enjoined to give liberty to Athens. At length they obeyed, and made an unsuccessful invasion into Attica. They made a second attempt under their king Cleomenes, and gained a battle. Hippias retired to the Acropolis, and was sending his children away, when they were taken prisoners by the Spartans, and he was obliged to purchase their restoration by quitting his country for ever. He therefore sailed for Asia, and dwelt at Sigeum.<sup>1</sup>

It was usually the policy of Sparta to endeavour to establish an oligarchy in those states over which they could exercise influence; and in order to forward their views at Athens, Isagoras, a friend of Cleomenes, backed by the nobles, exerted himself to reconstruct the constitution on an aristocratic basis. He was opposed by Clisthenes, the son of Megacles, the chief of the Alcmaeonidæ. The political power of his adversaries compelled him to bid high for popular support. Most probably too he was wise enough to see that the time was come for a liberal extension of the franchise, and for the admission of the commercial classes into an equal share of power. He thus became the parent of the Athenian democracy.<sup>2</sup>

His first measure was to redivide all the free inhabitants of Attica into ten new tribes, and even, as some say, to incorporate in them the *Metæci* and emancipated slaves. Each of these he again sub-

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 510. Ol. lxxvii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 509. Ol. lxxvii. 4.

divided into ten *demi*, or boroughs, which had the privilege of local municipal government, taxed themselves, and had their own demarehs, or mayors. In accordance with this new system, he increased the number of the senate from four hundred to five hundred; fifty members being appointed from each tribe. Each of these bodies of fifty presided in succession over the senate and the ecclesia during a tenth portion of the year, with the title of *Prytanes*. The *Prytanes* were divided into five tens, each of which presided for seven days, and were termed *Proedri*. Lastly, one of the *Proedri* was chosen by lot every day as president, with the title of *Epistates*. Much of the political power of the Archons was, by the reforms of Clisthenes, transferred to the senate and ecclesia; and it is supposed by some that it was he who limited their judicial functions also by the institution of the court of the Heliaea. There is no doubt that he introduced a co-ordinate power to the *Polemarch*, by giving each tribe a general (*strategus*), elected by the ecclesia.

It is said that Clisthenes, as one of his reforms, introduced *Ostracism*, in order to prevent the possibility of a tyranny being again established. If any citizen was thought likely to be dangerous to the constitution, he could be banished for a time without disgrace or loss of political privileges after the period was concluded. If six thousand citizens wrote his name upon a tile, it was considered as a sentence of exile for ten years, and the obnoxious individual was compelled within ten days to leave Athens. Although this institution effectually answered its

purpose it appears very arbitrary ; but a pure democracy usually implies a surrender of personal rights, and the merging of the individual interests in those of the state. By these reforms, Clisthenes rendered himself so popular, that Isagoras felt that his hopes were annihilated, and he applied for support to Sparta. The Spartans demanded the expulsion of the Alcmaeonidæ, as still polluted by the guilt of Cylon's murder. Clisthenes found himself too weak to resist, and went into exile. Cleomenes attempted to abolish the new constitution, and to put the supreme power in the hands of Isagoras ; but the people roused themselves and shut up Cleomenes in the citadel. Soon he surrendered at discretion, and Clisthenes and his adherents were recalled.<sup>1</sup>

Still the Athenians feared the power of Sparta, and sent envoys to the satrap of Lydia, to solicit aid from Persia. The Persian king would grant it only on condition of the Athenians presenting earth and water as symbols of vassalage. The ambassadors consented, but the people refused to confirm their promise. Cleomenes and Demaratus, the two Spartan kings, now invaded Attica. But the allies who formed part of their army, especially the Corinthians, refused to march against Athens ; and as they were seconded by his colleague, Cleomenes was compelled to disband his army. Alarmed at the growing power of Athens, the Spartans made a second attempt to crush her liberties by the restoration of Hippias. They invited him to a congress of their allies at Sparta. Again the Corinthians and the rest of the allies stoutly op-

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 508. Ol. lxviii. 1.

posed; Hippias saw that his hopes were at an end, and he left Sparta for the court of the Persian king.

During the period just concluded, Greek genius had gradually developed itself, and Greek literature had attained a high degree of perfection. Poetry, both epic and lyric, flourished; and at the commencement of the sixth century before the Christian era, the dawn of philosophy began to be visible. The Homeric poems shed their brilliance over remote ages of antiquity. After the lapse of two or three generations epic poetry migrated from its sunny fatherland in Ionia, to the severer and more gloomy climate<sup>1</sup> of Ascra in the mountainous regions of Bœotia. The founder of the new school of poetry, which was as inferior to the Homeric, as the heavy Bœotian atmosphere was to the transparent sky of Asia, was Hesiod. He also was by descent an Asiatic Greek, for his father had migrated from Cyme in Æolia to the spurs of Mount Helicon. The Hesiodic poetry is not so much heroic and mythic, as moral, didactic, and religious. Only one work has been without dispute attributed to Hesiod, namely, the "Works and Days." The three others which bear his name, namely, the "Theogony," the "Eœæ,"<sup>2</sup> or female favourites of the gods, and the "Shield of Heracles," are supposed by very few to be genuine.

"The Muses, Hesiod, on the mountain steep  
Themselves at home, thy flocks beheld thee keep;  
The bright-leaved bay they pluck'd, and all the Nine

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<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, "Works and Days," 501.

<sup>2</sup> Derived from the Greek *ἡ οἴη* (such as were), a formula with which many of the descriptions are introduced.

Placed in thy hand at once the branch divine ;  
 Then their own Helicon's inspiring wave  
 From where the wing'd steed smote the ground, they gave,  
 Which deeply quaff'd, thy verse the lineage told  
 Of Gods, and Husbandry, and Heroes old."

ARCHIAS, *translated by G. SMITH.*

Epic poetry was the literature of the monarchical age. Freer institutions gave birth to freer expressions of thought, and developed Elegiac and Iambic poetry. Although the word elegy signified a song of sorrow, it was applied to strains of joy also. Cheerfulness mingled with mourning in the elegies of Archilochus of Paros,<sup>1</sup> who was also the inventor of the Iambic verse and of personal satire; the language of a free, patriotic, and martial spirit, was heard in the poems of Callinus,<sup>2</sup> the inventor of elegy, and united with strains of commiseration for the subjugation of Ionia to the Lydian satrap, in those of Mimnermus.<sup>3</sup> Contemporary with Archilochus, flourished Simonides of Amorgos, who was the author of moral and satirical poems. Tyrtaeus, the lame schoolmaster, and Alcman, sang their soul-inspiring strains during the period of the second Messenian War. Theognis of Megara<sup>4</sup> recited at festive meetings the praises of the expiring birth-aristocracy. Even philosophers were poets, and Solon and Xenophanes of Elea<sup>5</sup> were composers of elegies. The Swiss-like mountains of Arcadia gave birth to an elegiac poet, Echembrotus, who gained a prize at the Pythian games;<sup>6</sup> and the bleak regions of Thrace produced the shrewd and witty Æsop,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 720.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 727.

<sup>3</sup> B. C. 594.

<sup>4</sup> B. C. 548.

<sup>5</sup> B. C. 540.

<sup>6</sup> B. C. 586.

<sup>7</sup> About B. C. 550.



whose fables, probably of Oriental origin, will never lose their popularity.<sup>1</sup>

The rise of Greek lyric poetry, and of Greek musical science, with which it was inseparably connected, were contemporaneous.<sup>2</sup> The first scientific musician, Terpander of Lesbos, was a lyric poet likewise. The Greeks understood the laws of melody, but not of harmony; the term *ἁρμονικὴ* (harmony) signifies nothing more than melody or tune; their nearest approach to harmony was singing at the interval of an octave. The original scale had only four notes. Terpander increased the number to seven, and this compass he called a diapason (*διὰ πασῶν*). He also invented musical notation, and his written melodies were known by the title of *nomes* (*νόμοι*).

Greek lyric poetry was peculiarly the poetry of that race of which the Dorians and Æolians formed the two branches. The Dorian lyric was choral, and was adopted to the solemn ceremonials of religion. The Æolian was marked by Asiatic softness, and was suitable to the expression of human sentiments and passion. The influence of Asia is plainly visible in Æolian lyric poetry. Alcman was a native of Sardis, Callinus of Ephesus, Mimnermus of Smyrna; the islands of Teos, Paros, and Ceos, could each boast of its lyric poet; and Lesbos was the fatherland of Terpander, Alcaeus, and Sappho.

The earliest Doric choral song was the Pæan, which properly belonged to the worship of Apollo; it is

<sup>1</sup> The oldest Greek fable is that of Hesiod, "The Hawk and the Nightingale," *Works and Days*, 202.

<sup>2</sup> About B. C. 650.

mentioned as early as the Homeric poems.<sup>1</sup> The Dithyramb was in honour of Dionysus (*Bacchus*), and was the germ of the choral element in Attic



Bacchus.

tragedy. This hymn was sung to the flute, whilst the chorus danced in a circle round the altar. From this circumstance, Dithyrambic choruses were called *Cyclic*; their first introduction is attributed by Pindar<sup>2</sup> to Arion.

The convivial songs of the Greeks may be considered as belonging to their lyrical poets, and these were written both by Dorians and Æolians. The most popular were the *scolia*; many of these compositions

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, § 473.

<sup>2</sup> *Pind.* Ol. xiii. 18.

were not mere drinking-songs, but were also made the vehicles of wise reflections and patriotic sentiments, as may be seen by the following specimen of one of the most popular among them :—

“ I’ll wreathe my sword in myrtle bough,  
The sword that laid the tyrant low,  
When patriots burning to be free,  
To Athens gave equality.

“ Harmodius, hail ! though ’reft of breath,  
Thou ne’er shalt feel the stroke of death ;  
The Heroes’ Happy Isles shall be  
The bright abodes allotted thee.

“ I’ll wreathe my sword in myrtle bough,  
The sword that laid Hipparchus low  
When, at Minerva’s adverse fane,  
He knelt and never rose again.

“ While freedom’s name is understood,  
You shall delight the wise and good ;  
You dared to set your country free,  
And gave her laws equality.”—WELLESLEY.

The Alexandrian Grammarians mention nine lyric poets—Alcman, Alcæus, Sappho, Stesichorus, Ibycus, Anacreon, Simonides, Bacchylides, and Pindar. To these may be added, in their proper chronological places, Eumelus and Arion.

Eumelus<sup>1</sup> was a Corinthian, who wrote a hymn to Apollo. Alcman was a native of Sardis, was brought to Sparta as a slave about the time of the second Messenian War, and there emancipated and naturalized. When peace gave leisure for poetical enjoyment, he sang of love and festive pleasures in a

<sup>1</sup> About B.C. 763. Ol. iii. 1.

voluptuous style, which formed a marked contrast with the usual severity of the Dorian character.

Arion<sup>1</sup> was a native of Lesbos, and a friend of Periander of Corinth. Herodotus<sup>2</sup> tells of him the following legend. Having made a voyage to Italy and earned a large sum of money, he hired a Corinthian vessel at Tarentum, in order to return to the court of Periander. The sailors, tempted by his wealth, determined to throw him overboard; but he, discovering their intention, entreated them to take his treasure, but spare his life. His prayers were ineffectual, for they only gave him the alternative of killing himself, in order that he might obtain the rites of burial, or leaping into the sea. Arion then besought the sailors that they would permit him to stand in the stern of the vessel and sing. Delighted at the prospect of hearing him, they consented. Taking, therefore, his harp, he sang the Orthian Nome, and when his strain was ended he leaped into the sea, and a dolphin bore him safe to Tænarus. A monument there commemorated this legend in the days of Herodotus, and in after-ages the poet and his harp were immortalized among the constellations.

Alcæus<sup>3</sup> was a noble Lesbian, who supported the aristocratic faction in the political troubles which distracted his native land. He was a warrior, but on one occasion fled, and left his shield upon the field. He invented the metre called by his name (Alcaic). His odes were (1) legendary; (2) songs of love and wine, the most beautiful of which are those which

<sup>1</sup> About B.C. 628. Ol. xxxviii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. i. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Flourished about B.C. 600. Ol. xlv. 1.

are addressed to the object of his ardent admiration, the poetess Sappho; (3) political or party poems, two of which are imitated by Horace. In one of these he describes his distracted country as a tempest-tossed vessel;<sup>1</sup> in the other he expresses his transport at the liberation of Mitylene from the tyranny of the hated Myrsilus.

Sappho, like Alcæus, was the inventor of a new metre. Her lively and unrestrained fancy and ardent passions exposed her, in after generations, to the bitter and coarse calumnies of the Athenian comic poets. Hers was the brightest of the bright female minds which threw a lustre over Greek lyric poetry. Horace adopted her metre in his lighter and softer poems, as he did that of Alcæus in his nobler odes; and Catullus often appropriated her impassioned thoughts and nature-loving imagery. Of one of her poems the wise Solon is said to have exclaimed that he would not be content to die until he had committed it to memory. Few fragments of her odes remain; but these are singularly beautiful. A legend tells how that, in the pangs of disappointed love for Phaon, she leaped into the sea from the Leucadian promontory, and so died. The following are amongst the Greek epigrams which have been written in her honour:—

“Some count the Muses nine, how careless! when  
Sappho of Lesbos makes the number ten.”

“Sappho’s my name. No man the song divine  
Of Homer hath surpassed. No woman mine.”

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<sup>1</sup> See Hor. Od. i. 14—37.

Stesichorus, a Sicilian poet of Himera, was a contemporary of Alcæus and Sappho. A false tradition said he was a son of Hesiod. The truth probably is, that he was descended from one of a school of poets who, like the Homeridæ, affected to call themselves the sons of Hesiod. His distinguishing characteristic was the adaptation of epic subjects to lyric verse; he was also the first writer of Bucolic or pastoral poetry. Legends tell, that when an infant a nightingale sat and sang upon his lips, and that in after-life he was struck blind after writing an attack upon Helen, but was restored to sight on writing a recantation.

Ibycus<sup>1</sup> was a native of Rhegium, of Messenian extraction, a friend of Polycrates of Samos. The warmth of his amatory poems obtained for him the title of *love-maddened*; but some of his odes were of a loftier and nobler character.

There is an old proverbial expression, "the cranes of Ibycus," of which the following legend is the origin. As he was travelling, he was attacked by robbers and murdered. In his dying moments he called upon some cranes which were flying over his head, to avenge his death. Suddenly in the theatre at Corinth the cranes appeared and hovered over its roofless walls. One of the murderers, who happened to be present, exclaimed, "Lo! the avengers of Ibycus;" and thus involuntarily proved himself guilty.

Anacreon was born at Teos, and thence migrated to Abdera.<sup>2</sup> His great patron was Polycrates of Samos, after whose death he attached himself to a band of jovial and voluptuous poets who lived at

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 540. Ol. lx. i.

<sup>2</sup> B.C. 542. Ol. lix. 3.

the court of Hipparchus. He was not the author of the graceful odes which now bear his name; but his poems are said to have celebrated the joys of love and wine. Tradition tells that he attained the age of eighty-five years, and even then died by accidentally swallowing a grape-stone.

The following is a translation of an epitaph to his memory, which is still extant:—

“This tomb be thine, Anacreon; all around  
Let ivy wreath, let flowrets deck the ground;  
And from its earth, enriched with such a prize,  
Let wells of milk and streams of wine arise.  
So will thine ashes yet a pleasure know,  
If any pleasure reach the shades below.”

GREEK ANTHOLOGY.

Simonides of Ceos spent the principal part of his life at the court of Hipparchus, and after the expulsion of the tyrant he removed to Thessaly, and thence to the court of Hiero. He was the first to use the elegiac metre for funeral songs and monumental inscriptions. Many a touching epitaph he wrote in honour of the patriot warriors of Greece; and his simple epitaph on Archedice, the daughter of Hippas, is given by Thucydides, of which the following is a translation:—

“Archedice, the daughter of King Hippas,  
Who in his time  
Of all the potentates of Greece was prime;  
This dust doth hide  
Daughter, wife, sister, mother unto kings she was,  
Yet free from pride.” HOBBS.

The following legend is related of him by Cicero.

<sup>1</sup> Cic. de Nat. Deor. ii. 86.

In a triumphal ode in which he had sung the praises of one Scopas, he introduced those also of Castor and Pollux. Scopas therefore asserted that the two heroes fairly ought to pay half the promised premium for his poem. During the banquet it was told Simonides that two young men at the door wished to speak to him. He obeyed the summons, but found no one there, and in his absence the banqueting-room fell and crushed Scopas and his friends.

Bacchylides was the nephew of Simonides, and formed one of that brilliant literary circle which adorned the court of Hiero of Syracuse. The few remains of his poems extant exhibit polish and correctness, but not the fire of genius. The following is a translation of one of his epigrams:—

“The touchstone tries the purity of gold,  
And by all-conquering truth man’s worth and wit are told.”

Pindar, the greatest of all Greek lyric poets,<sup>1</sup> flourished on the very confines of the two great literary periods of lyric and dramatic poetry. He was born at the Theban village of Cynoscephalæ. His odes originated in the choral worship of Dionysus. He was a pupil of an Athenian dithyrambic poet, named Lasus; and at an early age his reputation spread so widely, that Athens appointed him her resident consul, or *proxenus*, at Thebes. The most generous of all his patrons was Hiero, at whose court he resided four years. He is said to have attained the age of eighty. Almost all his triumphal odes were composed in honour of victors at the four great games;

<sup>1</sup> Born about B.C. 517. Ol. lxx. 3.



and therefore are arranged in four divisions—the Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean.

The characteristic feature of Pindar's poetry was the interweaving, by way of digression, other cognate incidents with the immediate subject of his song; he connected his hero's family-history with the ancient legends of his native land, and thus the whole range of mythical tradition was open as a fruitful source of imagery. His mind rapidly saw analogies and resemblances; one idea led to another connected with it; and he was insensibly led away by a long train and succession of thoughts, between which it is often difficult to trace the connexion. His odes are also full of religious sentiments and moral lessons; he represents the gods as the givers of all victory; he warns the victor of the temptations incident to success, and commends piety, humility, gratitude, and moderation in victory.

In the literature of a nation, Poetry naturally precedes prose literature; and the epoch of the seven sages of Greece, which extends from the middle of the seventh to that of the sixth century before Christ, marks the period of transition from poetry to prose. They were not undistinguished as poets, but they owe their reputation principally to their moral, political, and philosophical wisdom. To each was ascribed his own peculiar moral axiom, and their sayings were afterwards written on the walls of the temple of Delphi. The seven sages were Periander, tyrant of Corinth; Pittacus, governor (*Æsymnetes*) of Lesbos, in the time of Alcæus; Thales, a Milesian, founder of the Ionic school of philosophy; Solon, the Athe-

nian legislator; Cleobulus, tyrant of Lindus, in Rhodes; Bias, a native of Priene, in Ionia; and Chilon, an ephor of Sparta, whose maxim was the celebrated one, *Know thyself* (γνῶθι σεαυτόν).

The early history of Greek philosophy is far too large a subject for this work; suffice it to say, that it had its origin in the generation immediately succeeding that of the seven wise men. The first philosophical school was the Ionic, the founder of which was Thales, and the principal professors Anaximander and Anaximenes. The second school was that of Elea, in South Italy, founded by Xenophanes, a native of Colophon. The third was the Pythagorean, founded at Crotona.<sup>1</sup> Pythagoras was by birth a Samian, a great traveller, and of aristocratic politics. He taught that the first principle of nature was number or proportion, and also held the doctrine of the transmigration of souls.

<sup>1</sup> Founded B.C. 540. Ol. lx. 1.



The Tigris, near Nineveh

## CHAPTER VIII.

ANCIENT DYNASTIES—ASSYRIAN—MEDIAN—PERSIAN—LYDIAN—CYRUS—CAMBYSES—DARIUS—SCYTHIAN EXPEDITION—DARIUS CROSSES THE DANUBE—CONDUCT OF MILTIADES AND HISTIEUS—DISASTROUS RETREAT OF DARIUS—SUCCESS OF MEGABAZUS—INTRIGUES OF HISTIEUS—BLOCKADE OF NAXOS—REVOLT OF THE ASIATIC GREEKS—ARISTAGORAS APPLIES TO GREECE FOR AID—SARDIS BURNED—BATTLE OF LADĒ—FALL OF MILETUS—EXPEDITION OF MARDONIUS.

THE earliest and the mightiest empire of the East was the Assyrian, and testimony is borne to its grandeur, not only by history, but by the wonderful discoveries which have been made in modern times at its ancient capital of Nineveh. But its rebellious subjects, the Medes and Babylonians, crushed this

prosperous dynasty, and shared between them the principal part of its territory. Two centuries afterwards the Medes razed Nineveh to the ground.<sup>1</sup> As time wore on, these brave mountaineers became corrupted by the Oriental luxury of the people whom they had conquered; and the Persians, a hardy and warlike race, of simple and frugal habits, under the command of Cyrus, in their turn overcame the Medes



Cyrus.

and established a new dynasty on the ruins of the former empire.<sup>2</sup>

The empire of Lydia in Asia Minor was rich in commercial wealth, and its king, Cræsus, was reputed

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 606. Ol. xliii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> B.C. 559. Ol. lv. 2.

the richest monarch in the world. He was brother-in-law to Astyages, the vanquished Median king, and therefore determined to resist the advance of the victorious Persian. The armies met, but neither gained the day. Crœsus withdrew to his capital, Sardis, which Cyrus immediately besieged and took; and the treasures and dominions of Lydia were thus added to the empire of Persia. The fall of the Asiatic Greek colonies soon followed. At first they offered to pay tribute on condition of being allowed to retain their independence; but, as this was refused, they prepared for a brave and resolute resistance. Whilst Cyrus was pursuing his course of conquest in Assyria and Central Asia, he left Lydia to be governed by Persian satraps. One of these, Harpagus, subdued in rapid succession the Asiatic Greeks, although some preferred exile to a barbarian rule, and sought new abodes in distant lands. Samos alone maintained its freedom.



Lydian Stater of  
Sardis.

Cyrus fell in battle, and was succeeded by his son Cambyses, (the Ahasuerus mentioned in the book of Ezra,) who invaded and conquered Egypt. The next king was a pretender named Smerdis, called in Holy Scripture Artaxerxes<sup>1</sup>, who, after a short reign of seven months, was assassinated by a conspiracy of Persian nobles, one of whom, Darius, the son of Hystaspes, ascended the throne.<sup>2</sup>

Although the political disturbances which had preceded his accession had disorganized this vast empire, he had no sooner established some order in

<sup>1</sup> Ezra chap. vii.

<sup>2</sup> B.C. 521. Ol. lxiv. 4.

the administration of it, than, like his ambitious predecessors, he determined to push forward the frontiers of his dominions, which already extended from the Indus to the Mediterranean. Probably one of his motives for seeking further conquest may have been the danger of leaving his vast army unemployed.

The barren and inclement steppes of Scythia, situated in the north of the Asiatic continent, were



Darius.

originally inhabited by a savage race of Nomads. These being driven from their settlements by the Massagetæ (the nation against whom Cyrus was waging war when he was slain), migrated into Europe and spread their hordes over the wide plains which stretched from the Ister (*Danube*) to the Tanais (*Don*). Darius determined to attack these wild tribes with an army amounting, as it is said, to seven hundred thousand men, and a fleet of six hundred ships, which were manned by the Asiatic Greeks.

The enormous number of his army of course included a vast retinue of camp-followers and others, which even in the present day swell the ranks of Oriental armies to an amount which appears almost incredible.

The Greeks at his order built a bridge over the Danube; and he himself, marching across Thrace, passed over with his vast army, and succeeded in penetrating into the interior of Scythia. He seems

to have been so confident that he would subjugate the country and return into Asia across the passes of the Caucasus, that he left orders with the Greeks who remained to guard the bridge, that if he did not return in sixty days, they were to break down the bridge and go back home. The sixty days passed away, and yet Darius did not appear; but a number of the natives came and informed them that the Persians had met with a reverse of fortune, and were in rapid retreat. Then Miltiades, an Athenian, the tyrant of the Chersonese, advised the Greeks to strike a blow for the recovery of their independence, by breaking down the bridge in accordance with the king's permission.

Some of the chieftains seemed inclined to listen to his advice; but Histæus, tyrant of Miletus, craftily reminded his colleagues, that the safe enjoyment of their tyrannies depended upon the support and protection of Persia; and so they determined that the bridge should remain. Darius and his army suffered great privations and had a narrow escape of total destruction; but they reached the bridge and arrived safely at Sardis. The king, however, left a force of eighty thousand men under the command of Megabazus, to prosecute his design of subduing Thrace and the Greek cities in the Hellespont. He rewarded Histæus for his faithful services with the gift of Myrcinus, a town on the river Strymon (*Stroma*).

Megabazus was more successful than his master, for he soon conquered Thrace and the Pæonians who lived on the other side of the Strymon. His treatment of this latter people illustrates a practice which was

not uncommon with Eastern monarchs, and which reminds us of the transportation of the Jewish nation into Babylon. Darius had expressed great admiration of their appearance, and had ordered Megabazus to transfer the whole population into Asia. Accordingly he transported almost the whole of them into Phrygia, where a tract of country was assigned to them.

The success which Megabazus had experienced induced him to march up to the frontiers of Macedonia, and to demand of Amyntas, its king, earth and water, which were the oriental tokens of submission. Amyntas did not feel himself in a position to refuse this imperious demand, but submitted, and invited the Persian envoys to an entertainment. Whilst they were at table they wantonly insulted some ladies of rank, and the indignant Macedonians avenged themselves on the spot by killing the authors of the outrage. Megabazus was conscious that the Persians were the aggressors, and never ventured to demand satisfaction.

Myrcinus occupied an important commercial position, and the use which Histiaeus made of it to aggrandize himself aroused the suspicions of Megabazus. He accordingly made the facts known to Darius, and the jealous monarch immediately removed Histiaeus, and compelled him against his will to proceed with him to Susa. His active mind, however, soon wearied of the monotonous inaction of an Eastern court; and it occurred to him that if the Asiatic Greeks could but be induced to rebel, the king might perhaps send him to quell the insurrection.

As it happened, a way was already opened for



the consummation of his wishes. In his absence from Miletus, his son-in-law, Aristagoras, acted as regent; and some Naxian nobles, who had been exiled by the democratical party in the island, applied to Aristagoras to aid in reinstating them.<sup>1</sup> He did not want the will, but the power, to assist them, and therefore he applied to Artaphernes, the brother of Darius, and told him that here was an opportunity of uniting the principal islands of the *Ægean* to the empire of Persia. Artaphernes consented to cooperate; and a fleet of two hundred sail, under the command of a Persian noble, named Megabates, was despatched to Naxos. But a private quarrel rendered the expedition fruitless. Megabates reviewed the fleet, and, finding one of the commanders guilty of neglect of duty, put him in irons, with his head through a port-hole. Aristagoras took his part and released him. Megabates, enraged, sent secret intelligence to the Naxians, who therefore had time to prepare for a siege; and the Persian fleet, after blockading the island for four months without making any impression, sailed away for Miletus.

Aristagoras was now afraid that, because of the ill-success of the expedition, he would be accused of having misled Artaphernes and the king. He therefore began to think seriously of exciting the Ionians to revolt. But at this crisis Histiaeus sent to him to make a similar proposition; he dared not write, and therefore he shaved the head of a slave on whom he could rely, tattooed the message on his scalp, and when the hair had grown again, sent him to Miletus.

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 501. Ol. lxi. 4.

This proposal determined Aristagoras at once. He proposed to the Milesians to revolt, and resigned his tyranny into their hands. Immediately the tyrannies in all the other Greek colonies yielded to the democratical power, and all with one accord, now ripe for liberty, resolved to throw off the yoke of their barbarian masters.<sup>1</sup> Aristagoras now sought aid from Greece for her children in their struggle for independence.

He first applied to Cleomenes, king of Sparta, and showed him a map of the world, engraved on a brass plate, probably by Hecataeus of Miletus, one of the earliest Greek historians and geographers. On this the first map mentioned in history, he showed him how short and easy was the line of march from Ionia to the Persian capital. Cleomenes, not to be misled by appearances, asked how long the distance was; to which Aristagoras replied, that it was a three months' march. This was enough for a Spartan, whose principles forbade him from wandering far from home, and he bade him quit Sparta that very day. Aristagoras still persisted, and followed him to his house. He tried to bribe him with ten talents, and gradually increased the offer until it amounted to fifty. His little daughter Gorgo, a child of nine years old, who was afterwards wife of the hero Leonidas, happened to be with him; and the simple honesty of the child saved the king from the danger of temptation. "Fly, father," she said, "or this stranger will corrupt you." Cleomenes took the child's advice, and Aristagoras departed.

<sup>1</sup> B. c. 500. Ol. lxx. 1.

“ ‘O father!’ cried that maiden bold,  
 ‘Make haste to rise and flee;  
 Or by the stranger and his gold  
 Corrupted thou wilt be.’

“The child-adviser said no more,  
 But glided swift away;  
 But at that word the fight was o’er,  
 And virtue won the day.

\* \* \* \* \*

“And she who won that early fight  
 Has lived his bride to be;  
 Who daring died for Hellas’ right,  
 At fell Thermopylæ.”

BODE.

He made his next application to the Athenians, whom he found angry with the Persian satrap, because he had espoused the cause of Hippias. This feeling, together with their natural sympathies in favour of the Ionian race, induced them to give a favourable answer to his request. Accordingly, in the ensuing year<sup>1</sup> a fleet of twenty Athenian ships sailed from Miletus, together with five vessels from the Eretrians in Eubœa, who were under some obligations to the Milesians for aid in a former war. Aristagoras landed his troops at Ephesus, and, being joined by a powerful force of the revolted Asiatic Greeks, marched immediately upon Sardis; Artaphernes shut himself up in the citadel, and left the city to be pillaged by the enemy. Accidentally a soldier set fire to a house; and as all the buildings were thatched with straw, the fire quickly spread and destroyed the whole city. The Sardians, driven by the flames to leave their

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 499. Ol. lxx. 2.

dwelling and assemble together, perceived their strength, and, recovering from their panic, turned the tables upon the aggressors. The attack was successful: they pursued them to Ephesus, and gained a bloody and decisive victory. The Ionian army dispersed, and the Athenians sailed home.

When Darius heard the news that Sardis was burnt, his rage against the Athenians knew no bounds. He determined on vengeance, and ordered a page to exclaim thrice daily at his dinner-table, "Remember the Athenians." For the present, however, he was compelled to defer his intentions by fresh insurrections on the part of the Ionians. But though their spirit seemed indomitable, the determined energy of the generals of Darius prevailed. Caria, Cyprus, Clazomenæ, and Cyma, raised the standard of revolt, only to fall before the armies of Persia in rapid succession. Aristagoras, finding that all his hopes were vain, deserted their cause and fled to Thrace.<sup>1</sup> He was slain in the act of laying siege to a town; and his father-in-law, Histiaeus, although he cunningly contrived to satisfy the suspicions of Darius, thought it his safest course to quit the dominions of Persia. He sought an asylum first at Chios (*Scio*), and then at Lesbos (*Mitylene*); but the Greeks doubted him. He then sailed for Byzantium (*Constantinople*), where he lived by piracy. At length he was taken prisoner by the Persians, and crucified by Artaphernes.

Notwithstanding their blighted hopes, the Ionians maintained their heroic insurrection for six years, and then Artaphernes concentrated his forces by land and

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 497. Ol. lxx. 4.

sea upon Miletus. His army was immense. His fleet, furnished by the Phœnicians, numbered six hundred triremes.

The Ionian confederacy saw it would be fruitless to risk a battle by land, but trusted to their naval skill, although they could only muster three hundred and fifty-three ships. The Persians, notwithstanding their superior numbers, confessed their inferiority by trying to tamper with the loyalty of the confederates, through the agency of the exiled tyrants. All, however, remained proof against this temptation, although they did not all continue staunch to the end. Disorganization soon began to spread throughout the fleet,—the sailors became impatient of the constant drill, and mutinied; and at length the Samians took fright and consented to desert. The engagement was fought off the little island of Ladè, near Miletus, and it had scarcely commenced when the Samians fled, and were quickly followed by the Lesbians. Owing to these examples of treachery and cowardice, the whole fleet was panic-stricken. The brave Chians alone obstinately maintained the struggle, until the resistless numbers of the enemy compelled them to yield. A small remnant only escaped, and effected a landing at Mycale, but the inhabitants of the neighbourhood took them for pirates and massacred them.<sup>1</sup>

Almost immediately after this decisive battle Miletus was besieged and taken. The miserable inhabitants experienced the severest treatment. Almost all the men were put to the sword; the rest, with the women and children, were transported to Ampè, on the banks of

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 494. Ol. lxxi. 3.

the Tigris, and the city itself was occupied by the victorious Persians. The Athenians looked upon the disastrous fate of their kinsmen as a national calamity; and when the poet Phrynichus, at the ensuing Dionysiac festival, exhibited a tragedy, the subject of which was the fate of Miletus, the Athenians thought it too sad a subject for the drama, and fined him a thousand drachmæ.<sup>1</sup>

All the other Greek cities and settlements, both on the continent of Asia and in the principal islands of the Ægean, met with a similar hard fate.

Byzantium submitted, and was evacuated by its inhabitants. Ionia was thoroughly subjugated and deprived of its independence. The satrap Artaphernes reduced it to the condition of a mere Persian province, and imposed a tribute upon each of the cities.

Darius appointed his son-in-law, Mardonius, as successor to Artaphernes, in the vice-royalty of the Asiatic coast; and the first measure of the new satrap was the establishment of democracies in the Ionian cities. Darius, thus relieved from all fear of further disturbances, turned his thoughts to taking vengeance on Athens. He entrusted a vast armada to Mardonius, who immediately crossed the Hellespont with his army, and pursued his march through Thrace and

<sup>1</sup> The Attic *drachma* was nearly equal to a French franc. The *mina* equalled one hundred drachmæ, and the *talent* equalled sixty *minæ*. These values, however, it must be remembered, represented only the worth of the metal according to the present price of gold and silver. The exchangeable value, of course, varied, and was generally more than three times as great as the bullion value.

Macedonia, having given orders to his fleet to join him at the gulf of Therma. For some time he met with no opposition, until the Bryges, a Thracian tribe, made so obstinate a resistance, that although he eventually subdued them, his army was so cut to pieces, and himself so severely wounded, that he returned to Persia. The fate of his fleet was still more disastrous: a violent storm arose off Mount Athos, and wrecked three hundred of his ships.<sup>1</sup>

Darius was provoked, but not disheartened by the miserable failure of this first armament; but the next year sent envoys to the different states of Greece to demand earth and water. Greece at this time was weakened by divisions, and Ægina (*Egina*), the neighbour and rival of Athens as a commercial and naval power, was engaged in a war with the latter city. Jealousy therefore induced that island, and fear of Persia influenced many other cities, to make immediate submission. But at Athens and Sparta, the envoys of the king met with a very different treatment. They were thrown into wells, and ordered to help themselves to earth and water.

The Athenians immediately sent ambassadors to Sparta, urging them to take vengeance upon the Æginetans for their treachery to the interests of Greece. Sparta consented, but a division arose between her two kings. Cleomenes proceeded to Ægina, and arrested some of their influential men; but Demaratus secretly supported the islanders against his colleague. Cleomenes, backed by the Delphic oracle, caused a sentence of illegitimacy to be pronounced upon Demaratus.

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 492. Ol. lxxii. 1.

ratus, who, being deposed, fled to the court of Darius, and was succeeded by Leotychides, the heir to the throne. Cleomenes then compelled the Æginetans to give hostages to the Athenians for their future good behaviour. The plot by which he had dethroned Demaratus was subsequently discovered, and he fled his country. His countrymen entreated him to return, but he soon afterwards went mad, and committed suicide. Leotychides also was banished for bribery.



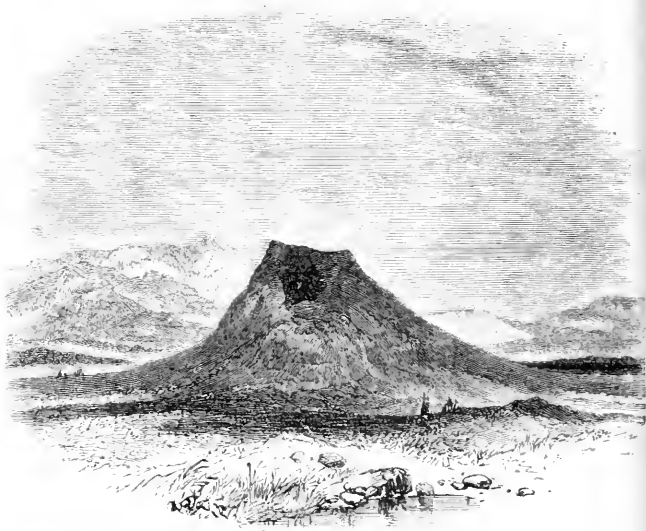


## CHAPTER IX.

EXPEDITION OF DATIS AND ARTAPHERNES—BATTLE OF MARATHON—CONFIDENCE REPOSED IN MILTIADES ABUSED—HIS IMPEACHMENT AND DEATH—MARITIME POLICY OF THEMISTOCLES—FINANCIAL SKILL OF ARISTIDES—CHARACTERS OF THESE STATESMEN—OSTRACISM OF ARISTIDES.

DARIUS, determined upon a second expedition, had before two years passed away raised an almost countless army, and a fleet of six hundred triremes. These forces were placed under the joint command of Datis and Artaphernes, son of the satrap of the same name. The place of rendezvous was Cilicia: so confident were the generals of success, that they took with them a cargo of fetters, to chain the prisoners. They first attacked Naxos, which they laid waste with fire and sword, whilst the panic-stricken inhabitants fled before them to the mountains. The Cyclades (*Dodekanisi*) offered no resistance. The Delians fled from their holy island, but afterwards returned on a promise of safety, granted them in consideration of the deities whom they served. Darius, as a Persian, venerated Apollo and Artemis (Diana), the two deities who presided over the heavenly bodies which he adored. But when they reached Eubœa (Negropont) the Eretrians bravely held out for seven days, and their city was after all only taken by treachery.

The news of its fall arrived at Athens, and a courier was immediately despatched to Sparta for help, who accomplished the one hundred and twenty miles in two days. Sparta promised aid, but delayed to send it until it was too late, because the Spartans never commenced an expedition except at the full of the moon. Thus Sparta, whose supremacy was universally recognised, was absent from this struggle for the national existence of Greece.



Temple of Mars at Marathon.

Meanwhile, the Persians had, in compliance with the advice of Hippias, effected a landing at Marathon, where Pisistratus had made his stand in former days.

This bow-shaped plain was extensive enough to allow of the manœuvres of the cavalry, and its well protected bay, flanked with two bold headlands, furnished a safe anchorage for the numerous fleet.

Unlike the superstitious Spartans, the Athenians lost no time; every one of military age, whether slave or freeman, joined the army, and soon encamped on the mountain ridge of limestone which at twenty-five miles' distance from Athens "looks on Marathon." Their force numbered only ten thousand *Hoplites*, or heavy-armed troops, to withstand at the very least one hundred and ten thousand Persians. Their only allies were a little band of one thousand gallant Plataeans, whose invaluable aid on this momentous occasion was never forgotten by the Athenian people.

The army was commanded by the ten generals and the polemarch Callimachus. Amongst the generals was Miltiades, the former tyrant of the Chersonese: after the unsuccessful revolt of the Ionian colonies, he had abdicated and sailed to Athens, where he lived as a private citizen. At first the liberty-loving Athenians hated him as a tyrant, but they soon learned to estimate his talents and his knowledge of Persian warfare, and elected him one of their generals.

When news was brought of the delay of the Spartans, there was a division in the councils of the generals; five were for waiting until the Spartans arrived, the rest, including Miltiades, urged the necessity of fighting without delay; Callimachus, at the earnest representations of Miltiades, gave his casting vote in favour of immediate action. The generals

had the right of commanding each in turn for one day, but in order that there might be no delay, all resigned in favour of Miltiades. Taking the command therefore, he drew up his army on the slope of the mountain about a mile from the Persian line, which halted in line of battle about equidistant from the mountains and the sea. He extended his front as much as possible, and strengthened his wings at the expense of his centre. To Callimachus was assigned the right wing, the post of honour, and the Plataeans occupied the extreme left. The conflict now began. The Athenians with a loud shout charged at full speed. The Persian centre was the strongest portion of their line, and therefore broke that of the Athenians, but the Athenian wings were completely victorious, routed and put to flight their antagonists, and the centre then rallying, and joining the wings, by a combined attack drove the whole Persian army in flight and confusion to their ships.

They attempted to sail for Athens, by doubling Cape Sunium, but Miltiades, suspecting their design, marched to Athens, and his soldiers lined the harbour just as the Persian fleet hove in sight. When they saw their enemy had anticipated them, they sailed away with all speed to Asia.<sup>1</sup>

On this glorious field only one hundred and ninety-two Athenians fell, including the Polemarch, but the Persians are said to have lost six thousand four hundred. The tragic poet Æschylus bore arms on this occasion, and the exiled tyrant Hippias was slain whilst fighting on the side of his country's

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 490. Ol. lxxii. 3.

enemies. A barrow is still to be seen rising from the plain, to mark the spot where the brave warriors sleep who died fighting for the liberties of Greece; although the pillars on which their names were inscribed have long crumbled into dust. But their fame is immortalized in one of the epigrams of Simonides, and those who survived were ever after distinguished by their grateful countrymen as the "Marathonomachi," or those who fought at Marathon. A beautiful superstition still hallows the spot, and even now the solitary wayfarer in fancy hears the war-cry and the clash of arms, as it sweeps on the breeze over the warriors' graves.

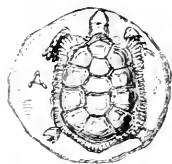
"The mountains look on Marathon,  
And Marathon looks on the sea,  
And musing there an hour alone  
I dream'd that Greece might still be free;  
For, standing on the Persian's grave,  
I could not deem myself a slave."—BYRON.

The glory of Marathon belonged to Athens and Plataea alone, for when the dilatory Spartans arrived the field was won. It was a bitter disappointment not to have borne their part in saving Greece from the sway of an eastern despot. With sadness they viewed the dead, which strewed the plain, but gladly acknowledged the debt which Greece owed to Athens.

Miltiades received every honour which could be conferred upon a successful general, and so unbounded was their confidence in him, that without requiring to know his object, they at his request entrusted him with a fleet of seventy ships. He promised them rich spoils, but he used the force placed at

his disposal to prosecute a private quarrel. A citizen of Paros was his enemy, and he attacked that island; he was unsuccessful, and returned to Athens with a severe wound. His indignant countrymen would not forgive even the conqueror of Marathon for this deceit, although they did not inflict the punishment of death. He was impeached by Xanthippus, the father of the great Pericles, and though carried by his friends into court on a litter, he was fined fifty talents. This enormous penalty he never lived to pay. Some say he died in prison; at any rate his wound was mortal, and the fine was rigorously exacted from his son Cimon.

After the battle of Marathon, Athens laid the foundation of her naval power. The Æginetans



*Tortoise of Ægina*

renewed the war with her in order to recover the hostages which had been forced from them by the Spartans; and in order to be a match for this formidable rival by sea, Themistocles strongly urged the Athenians to build a navy of two hundred triremes, and to pass a bill enacting that twenty should be annually added to that number. Owing to the financial ability of Aristides, they were in a position to do this, for there was a large surplus in the treasury, derived principally from the silver mines at Laurion near the promontory of Sunium.

These two great men had been amongst the ten generals at Marathon, and had zealously supported the policy of Miltiades. They now headed the two opposite parties which at all times divided not only

Athens, but every petty state of Greece. The politics of Aristides were aristocratic; Themistocles was a supporter of democracy. Their characters were as opposite as their political principles: the former was a man of strict integrity, incorruptible justice, and scrupulous honesty; his talents were not brilliant, but he had a clear discernment of what was right, and never did self-interest or private feelings tempt him to swerve from the line of duty and patriotism. Themistocles was an active and skilful general, and a sagacious and far-seeing statesman; he was never conquered by adverse circumstances, never taken at a disadvantage by his opponents, never without expedients to extricate himself from difficulties: but his brilliant talents were marred by want of principle; he bribed others, and was willing to be bribed himself; he always thought the end justified the means. It is easy to see which of these two politicians, the ready unscrupulous democrat, and the plain and upright aristocrat, would gain the upper hand with the Athenian people. Themistocles prevailed, and caused his rival to be *ostracised*. An anecdote related on this occasion illustrates the character of the lively but fickle people of Athens. A citizen who could not write asked Aristides to write his own name upon his tile. "Why," said the great statesman, "how has he offended thee?" "In nothing," was the reply, "but I am wearied with hearing him called *the JUST*."

## CHAPTER X.

REBELLION IN EGYPT—DEATH OF DARIUS, AND ACCESSION OF XERXES—HIS VAST PREPARATIONS FOR INVADING GREECE—CANAL OF MOUNT ATHOS—BRIDGE OF BOATS—THE MARCH COMMENCED—STORY OF PYTHIUS—XERXES SURVEYS HIS MYRIADS—CROSSES INTO EUROPE—ALARM IN GREECE—ORACULAR PREDICTIONS—PREPARATIONS FOR RESISTANCE—BATTLE OF THERMOPYLÆ—VIOLENT STORM—BATTLE OF ARTEMISIUM—BATTLE OF SALAMIS—CONDUCT OF ARISTIDES AND THEMISTOCLES—DISASTROUS RETREAT OF THE PERSIANS—REWARDS OF BRAVERY—CARTHAGE.

DURING nearly five years, Darius was engaged in making active preparations for wiping out the disgrace of Marathon, but he was prevented from carrying his purpose into effect, partly by family dissensions, partly by an insurrection of the Egyptians, who, although they had been conquered by Cambyses, had always rendered but an unwilling submission. This rebellion he had not time to quell before he died, after a reign of thirty-seven years.<sup>1</sup>

Xerxes, his younger son, succeeded to the vacant throne, in obedience to the injunctions of his father's will. His mother was Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, but he was neither equal to his father nor his grandfather. He was a true oriental—weak-minded, timid, vain, and ostentatious. Immediately upon his accession he turned his attention to Egypt, and reduced it to submission.<sup>2</sup> Nor would his counsellors, and

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 485. Ol. lxxiii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 484. Ol. lxxiv. 1.



especially his father's old general, Mardonius, then permit him to enjoy quiet and tranquillity, and at their persuasion he made preparations for invading Greece. For more than three years the din of warlike preparations was heard throughout his vast empire; all the various tribes, civilized and uncivilized, which owned the sway of Persia, helped to swell the unparalleled numbers of this vast armament. There can be no doubt that it was by far the largest force that was ever brought together, either in ancient or modern times, although the numbers mentioned by Herodotus were greatly magnified by the adulation of the subjects of Xerxes and the pride of Greek tradition.

We are told by the Father of history, that to count the infantry was totally impossible. A wall was therefore built round an enclosure large enough to contain ten thousand men, and this place was filled a hundred and seventy times. The cavalry, chariots, and camels, amounted to another hundred thousand. The fleet, which was furnished principally by the Phœnicians and Ionians, consisted of more than four thousand sail, and was manned by more than half a million of men. The reinforcements, which poured in from the northern nations of Europe whilst on his march, added above three hundred thousand more, and the attendants and camp followers which form the train of oriental armies doubled this total, so that it was computed that, when he halted on the frontiers of Greece, the number of his host amounted to above five millions and a quarter.

In order to feed this horde, dépôts of stores and

provisions were established along the coasts of Thrace ; and to prevent danger from the storms which are so frequent in those seas, one of which destroyed the Persian fleet in the expedition of Mardonius, a ship canal was cut through the isthmus which joins Mount Athos to the main-land. Some ancient writers have refused to believe in this great work, but modern travellers have discovered that traces of it are visible. Across the Hellespont (*Dardanelles*), a bridge of boats was built from Abydos to Sestos, but it was dashed to pieces by a storm. The self-willed despot, unaccustomed to have his commands disputed by his vassals, not only ordered the builders to be beheaded, but three hundred lashes to be inflicted upon the senseless sea, and fetters to be thrown into it. When he had thus gratified his impotent rage, the bridge was completed on twice its original scale.

Xerxes, in the midst of his countless myriads, and in all the pomp of war, borne in a lofty chariot, and followed by his body guard, the celebrated "Immortals," set out from his palace at Susa,<sup>1</sup> and wintered at the Lydian capital.

Herodotus tells a story of a Lydian, named Pythius, who is described as the richest man of his day, Xerxes alone excepted, entertaining in the most splendid manner the whole army. He had presented Darius with a vine and plane-tree made of pure gold, and now offered all his boundless wealth to Xerxes ; but the king not only declined the offer, but gave him seven thousand golden staters, to make up his fortune to an even number of millions. The sequel of the

<sup>1</sup> B. c. 481. Ol. lxxiv. 4.

story is most tragic. He was an old man, and all his five sons served in the Persian army. He therefore besought Xerxes to leave him the eldest to comfort him in his old age. "Miserable man," replied the king in a rage, "dost thou think of thy son, when I myself am taking with me sons, and brothers, and relations, and friends?" He then ordered the young man to be cut asunder, and the army continued its march between the two halves of his body. As the enormous wealth attributed to Pythius bears marks of the story being an eastern legend, so such unprovoked cruelty is beyond even the ebullitions of uncontrolled passion into which a despot may be betrayed, and scarcely consistent with the character of one whose eyes filled with tears when he looked upon his gallant army, and remembered that before a hundred years had passed away not one would remain.

Onward the countless myriads marched, until they reached Abydos. There from a marble throne the despot surveyed his fleet and army. As the sun went down he made a libation from a golden cup to the god whom the Persians adored, and with prayers for victory threw the cup into the sea. The odour of incense rose upon the air, the bridge was strewed with flowers, and with the Immortals at its head, the army crossed the Hellespont. Although like slaves the soldiers were hurried on by the lash, seven days and nights were spent in the passage.

Landed in Europe, the Persians consumed all the stores in the country; cities were almost ruined by furnishing them a single meal. Legends even tell,

that rivers were drank dry, on the banks of which they halted to dine. All the tribes to the north of Greece submitted without a show of resistance, and although the Athenians and Spartans summoned a congress in order to unite against the common foe, the patriotism of Greece seemed paralysed. Some sent earth and water, others, like Argos and Achæa, stood neuter. All seemed panic stricken, and deserted the cause of their fatherland, except Sparta, Athens, and Phocis, and the steady little republics of Plataea and Thespiæ.

The Athenians with noble disinterestedness forgot their old jealousies, gave the command in chief to the Spartans, and forgave their ancient rivals the Æginetans. Notwithstanding their exertions, the tone of the Delphic oracle was sad and discouraging. Two responses were looked upon as hopeful, one which promised that "wooden walls" should be impregnable, the other that "the divine Salamis should cause the loss of many lives." These ambiguous prophecies were interpreted in various ways. The energetic Themistocles, whose sanguine spirit looked on the bright side of things, cheered the desponding Greeks, by explaining that the wooden walls meant their ships, and that the godhead predicted the loss of their enemies' lives at Salamis, otherwise it would have been called *wretched*, not *divine*.

The congress used every exertion to reinforce the fleet from distant colonies, but without success. Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, went so far as to promise a large contingent if the allies would appoint him commander-in-chief, but they refused to comply with

such a condition. The Greeks at first determined to make their stand at the pass of Tempe, but they discovered that though this steep and narrow defile was defensible, there was another mountain path by which the enemy could turn their flank. They consequently fell back to the pass of Thermopylæ, which lies between Mount Cæta and the Malian gulf, whilst the fleet took up its position near Eubœa, at Artemisium. Its strength was two hundred and seventy-one sail, and its admiral was the Spartan Eurybiades.

Between six and seven thousand troops from the Peloponnese, Thebes, Phocis, Thespiæ, and Locris, including three hundred Spartans, garrisoned the pass. This little force was commanded by Leonidas, one of the Spartan Kings. When Xerxes arrived, he delayed his attack, not believing that such a handful would withstand his millions. After four days, two assaults were made, one by the celebrated Life-guards or Immortals. The Persians fought bravely, but were repulsed with great loss. Like those of the Russians at Inkerman, their dense masses, crowded in so limited a space, only rendered the slaughter more bloody.

There was, however, a mountain pass by which the enemy could attack them in the rear, and this was pointed out to Xerxes by a Malian named Ephialtes. A strong body of troops marched during the night, and in the morning, the rustling of the dead leaves beneath their feet aroused the Phocians, who had been posted on the heights to guard the pass. They made a brave defence, but at last retreated, and the Persians were masters of the path. A council of

war was held, and the Greeks determined to retire. Leonidas and his three hundred refused to leave their posts, and seven hundred Thespians, and four hundred Thebans, also stood firm; but in the battle the Thebans purchased their safety by surrendering.

At mid-day Xerxes with his main army attacked them in the front, and the troops which had crossed the mountains in the rear. The contest was desperate, and Leonidas fell early in the day. The battle was hottest around his body, and four times the Persians were driven back; but when the Thebans laid down their arms, the gallant little band was overwhelmed, and were all cut to pieces except one man, and he was looked upon by his countrymen as a coward. A marble lion marked the spot where Leonidas fell, and another monument bid the passing stranger tell the Spartans that their heroes lay there in obedience to their commands.<sup>1</sup>

“Of those who at Thermopylæ were slain,  
Glorious the doom and beautiful the lot;  
Their tomb an altar—men from tears refrain  
To honour them, and praise, but mourn them not.  
Such sepulchre, nor drear decay,  
Nor all destroying time shall waste;—this right have they.  
Within their grave the homebred glory  
Of Greece was laid; this witness gives  
Leonidas the Spartan, in whose story  
A wreath of famous virtue ever lives.”

SIMONIDES, *translated by* STERLING.

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<sup>1</sup> B. C. 480. Ol. lxxv. 1.

“ Seek yonder pass by the cold sea,  
Where Pyke's walls are steep,  
For there lie Sparta's hundreds three,  
Sleeping a glorious sleep.

“ Search every land beneath the sky,  
Tell every nation's name,  
For there the true three hundred lie,  
Reaping an endless fame.

“ There is a lion all of stone  
Carved on a hillock high ;  
The bravest king e'er sat on throne  
Beneath that stone doth lie.

“ There is a lion-hearted race  
O'er many a distant wave,  
And in their soul the lines we trace  
Of Sparta's monarch brave.

“ And some have well that lesson read,  
And learnt their sword to draw,  
Hopeless, except their blood to shed,  
For glory and for law.

“ Take, take the style of glory,  
And grave their names on high,  
For some have fought to conquer,  
But these have fought to die.”

BODE.

Meanwhile the Persian armada, one thousand two hundred strong, had anchored off the rock-bound coast of Magnesia, and the Greek fleet, panic-stricken, fled to Chalcis. All hopes of success would then have been at an end, had not divine Providence fought on their side. Suddenly there arose a fearful tempest, which raged without intermission for three days. The wind set in shore, and dashed the Persian ships upon the rocks, and more than one third perished. This revived the drooping spirits of the Greeks, and they forthwith returned to Artemisium.

A bribe of thirty talents from the Eubœans induced Themistocles, and enabled him to persuade the other admirals, to stand their ground. The Greeks had the courage to give battle, and first fifteen and then thirty of the enemy's ships fell into their hands, and what was still more important, another hurricane did much damage to the Persian fleet, and totally wrecked one squadron which was cruising off the coast of Eubœa. The Persians now offered battle, and drew up their ships at Artemisium in the form of a crescent. All day long they fought with equal fortune; both sides suffered great loss, and eventually the Greeks, hearing of the disaster at Thermopylæ, thought it prudent to retreat to Salamis.

Utter ruin now menaced the Athenians, for the selfish Peloponnesians, confiding in their almost insular position, thought only of fortifying the Corinthian isthmus. Xerxes marched straight for Athens. He met with no resistance except from the staunch and tried patriotism of Phocis, Plataea, and Thespiæ; and the territories of these brave little republics he laid waste with fire and sword. One division was despatched to attack Delphi, but lightning struck down the assailants, earthquakes split the peaks of the mountains and rolled them down upon their heads, and two gigantic warrior forms were seen rallying the Delphians, and aiding in the defence of the oracle and its sacred treasury.

Onward still the Persians marched, leaving behind them blazing cities and smoking ruins. When Xerxes arrived at Athens he found it evacuated.



This step had been taken on the recommendation of Themistocles. The men had gone on board the fleet, the women and children had been removed for safety to Salamis. One little determined band still held the Acropolis, and for some time hopefully maintained this strong position. The Persians encamped in the Areopagus, and after meeting with a vigorous resistance took the place in an unguarded point by escalade. They plundered and burnt the citadel and massacred the garrison. Athens had fallen, and the Greeks in Salamis saw the flames by which their homes were consumed illuminate the sky; but there was seen one omen of her future recovery. The sacred olive-tree in the temple of Athene put forth in two days a healthy shoot a cubit long.

“ And hark ! a voice from the inmost shrine !

In accents loud and clear,

The voice of the guardian power divine

Burst forth on his awe-struck ear.

“ ‘ And deem’dst thou then that the hand of man

Could harm my sacred tree ?

That mortal blow could the stem lay low

That was planted of old by me ?

“ ‘ By Pallas nurst it rose at first

To grace this favour’d land,

And aye shall be seen its branches green

Unscathed by tyrant’s hand.’ ”

BODE.

The fleet of Xerxes was at Phalerum, and after some discussion it was determined to fight a battle without delay, although there could be no doubt that the narrow strait of Salamis was unfavourable to the numerous vessels and inferior naval skill of

the Persians. There was also a hot dispute between the Greek admirals, Eurybiades and Themistocles, whether they should give battle at Salamis, or retire to the Isthmus. The majority of the chiefs voted for retreating, but the following day Eurybiades came over to the opinion of Themistocles, and without asking the rest, the order was given to prepare for action. In order to render it impossible to escape fighting, Themistocles secretly sent a slave who could speak Persian, to inform Xerxes that it would be perfectly easy in the darkness of the night to surround and destroy the whole Greek fleet. His stratagem succeeded, and when the day dawned, the whole surface of the sea was seen studded with the Persian ships. Their numbers amounted to one thousand, whilst the Greeks mustered scarcely more than three hundred and sixty. The Greek seamen were full of enthusiasm and patriotism; they felt that they were fighting for their hearths and altars. Their cheerful war-cry echoed from the steep cliffs, and must have reached the ears of the Persian king, who was seated on a lofty throne which overlooked the harbour.

“A king sat on the rocky brow  
Which looks o’er sea-born Salamis;  
And ships, by thousands, lay below,  
And men in nations;—all were his!  
He counted them at break of day,  
And when the sun set—where were they?” BYRON.

At first they hesitated and wavered, but it was only for a moment. When they rallied, the Persian fleet became a scene of complete disorder and confusion. Victory declared for the Greeks, and before

night the whole of the enemy's fleet was in full retreat. The ships from Halicarnassus were commanded by their queen Artemisia, who had in vain before the battle pointed out the hazard of fighting in such land-locked seas. In the action she behaved with the most consummate skill and courage. When the disappointed monarch saw his vanquished fleet and her bravery, he exclaimed in agony, "My men are women, and my women men." In this glorious action the Greeks lost forty, the Persians two hundred sail, and a brother of Xerxes was amongst the slain.

The generous and disinterested Aristides came to the aid of the ungrateful country which had exiled him, in her extremity. A picked body of Persians had been posted in reserve on the neighbouring island of Psyttaleia, but Aristides, effecting a landing with a few troops, attacked and cut them to pieces.

The Greeks, knowing the great superiority of the Persian numbers, could scarcely believe that the victory was so decisive, and therefore the next morning made preparations for renewing the battle: but Xerxes dared not risk another trial; he seemed anxious only to secure a safe retreat, and Mardonius by his advice seconded his royal master's views. As he had advised the expedition, so he now undertook to bring it to a successful issue, if he was entrusted with an army of three hundred thousand men; to this proposal Xerxes assented, and then prepared to return by land to Asia with the rest of his troops.

The conduct of Themistocles on this occasion was in accordance with that selfish dishonesty which tempted him to take a bribe from the Eubceans.

He had at first proposed to cut off the retreat of the Persians by destroying the bridge of boats over the Hellespont, but the cautious Eurybiades had prevented it; he now artfully endeavoured to curry favour with the Persian king, by sending him a message to inform him that through his friendly intervention with his colleagues the bridge had been saved. He displayed also the same dishonesty in discharging the duties with which he was next entrusted. A fleet was placed under his command to be employed in punishing those Greeks who had traitorously aided the Persians, and in many cases he basely took advantage of his power, in order to enrich himself by bribes, on a promise of protecting them from the anger of Athens.

Famine and pestilence accompanied the march of the retreating Persians, and whilst their ranks were thinned by death the survivors experienced the extremity of suffering; their line of march was strewn with the dead and dying. Winter set in, and froze the half-starved soldiers, and when they arrived at the Hellespont, tempests had destroyed the bridge which the Greeks had spared.

The fleet carried over to Asia the small remnant of that mighty armament, which had started with all the pomp and splendour of a royal progress, and the rapid change from want to plenty caused many to fall victims to self-indulgence who had escaped the hardships of privation.

When the Greeks, after having achieved this triumph, met together to adjudge the *aristeia*, or rewards of bravery, the first prize amongst nations

was unanimously awarded to the Æginetans, the second to the Athenians, and natives of those countries also obtained the first two places among warriors.

At the Isthmus, each commander of the fleet was requested to name the two best men, and when the ballot was examined, it was found that all had put down their own names first, and that of Themistocles second; but though thus deprived of the honour he deserved, he was rewarded by Sparta, for Eurybiades and himself received olive crowns, and were escorted to the frontier by a guard of honour, consisting of three hundred Spartans.

In this year a force of Carthaginians and allies, amounting to three hundred thousand men, under the command of Hamilcar, landed at Panormus (*Palermo*) in Sicily, attacked Himera, and were conquered by the Sicilians in a decisive but hardly-won battle, fought, it is said, on the same day as the battle of Salamis. Their general himself fell, many of their ships were burnt, half their army was killed, and many of the remainder were taken prisoners.



Frieze of Parthenon..

## CHAPTER XI.

MARDONIUS AT ATHENS—BATTLE OF PLATEA—MARDONIUS SLAIN—THE THEBAN TRAITORS PUNISHED—BATTLE OF MYCALE—THE WALLS OF ATHENS REBUILT—REDUCTION OF CYPRUS AND BYZANTIUM—TREASON OF PAUSANIAS—ORIGIN OF THE ATHENIAN SUPREMACY—EXPLOITS OF CIMON—BATTLE OF THE EURYMEDON—IMPEACHMENT OF PAUSANIAS—HE TAKES SANCTUARY AND IS STARVED TO DEATH—FLIGHT OF THEMISTOCLES—HIS RECEPTION BY ARTAXERXES—HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER.

ALTHOUGH the ill fortune of Xerxes alienated from him some of his Greek allies, the Boeotians, Thessalians, and Macedonians lent their aid to the designs of Mardonius. Alexander, the king of the latter people, endeavoured as a common friend to gain over the Athenians by the most tempting offers, but they indignantly rejected the alliance of the great king.

Mardonius therefore, seeing that his negotiations had failed, marched to Athens. A Persian garrison again took possession of the city, and the inhabitants a second time took refuge in Salamis.

The Lacedæmonians had before this, in order to prevent the Athenians from listening to the proposals of Alexander, made the warmest professions of sympathy, but instead of sending the promised aid, they excused themselves as usual, on the grounds that they were engaged in celebrating a solemn festival. Athens now in her strait sent envoys to remonstrate. Still they delayed, but at last despatched a force of ten thousand heavy-armed troops, and forty thousand light-armed Helots; other Peloponnesian states contributed reinforcements; the Athenians sent eight thousand horse, and at length the whole Greek army amounted to about one hundred and ten thousand men.

Mardonius, on hearing the preparations which were made to resist him, evacuated Athens, and marching into Bœotia, pitched his camp, which he strongly fortified, on the left bank of the river Asopus.<sup>1</sup> His army numbered about three hundred thousand. The Greeks had no cavalry, and therefore, in order to protect themselves from the Persian horse, they halted on the northern side of mount Cithæron. They were nevertheless much harassed by the dashing attacks of the Persian cavalry, until they succeeded in repulsing them, and killing their commander Masistius.

The Greeks then descended to the right bank of the Asopus, and Mardonius drew up his forces in

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 479. Ol. lxxv. 2.

battle array on the opposite bank. In the Greek army the Spartans as the leading nation in Greece formed the right wing, which was the post of honour; the left was unanimously assigned to the Athenians, and the inferior states occupied the centre. Opposite to the Lacedæmonians were the native Persian troops, the enemy's centre was composed of their barbarian allies, whilst the Greek allies were drawn up facing the Athenians.

Both armies seemed afraid of each other, and the soothsayers, aware of the prevailing feeling, declared that whoever commenced the attack would be conquered. So things remained for eight days, when Mardonius, impatient of further delay, determined to risk a general engagement.

The Macedonian king, Alexander, notwithstanding his disloyalty, was so much of a Greek in sympathy, that he secretly informed Aristides and the other Athenian generals of this design, and it was determined in consequence, that as the Athenians were accustomed to the Persians, they should change places with the Lacedæmonians. Mardonius became aware of the change, and made a corresponding disposition of his forces, and finally both armies returned to their old position.

The right wing of the Greeks commanded a spring or well, called Gargaphia, from which they were supplied with water; but the enemy's cavalry, an arm of the service in which the Greeks were deficient, began the battle and succeeded in getting possession of the spring. Pausanias therefore was compelled to withdraw his forces in the night nearer to the



town of Plataea, where there was water. This order caused division in the councils of the Greeks; the Athenians doubted the sincerity of the Spartans, and one of their own generals, Amompharetus, thought it cowardly to retreat. Pausanias was firm in his resolve, but nevertheless the movement was not made without some confusion.

The spirits of the Persians were raised at the apparent retreat of the foe; they rushed on in pursuit. Even then the superstition of the Lacedæmonians forbade resistance,—the omens were not favourable. Fortunately, the auspices altered in time, the Spartans led the charge, and although the Persians fought gallantly, and desperate hand to hand combats took place, they hardly maintained their ground. The white charger and glittering armour of Mardonius were conspicuous in the thickest of the fight, but the moment that he fell mortally wounded the Persians gave way, and retreated to their fortified camp.

The Lacedæmonians, who in reality had won the day, pursued them, but they could not take the camp until they were reinforced by the Athenians, who were more skilful in the management of sieges. The united forces then stormed and took the camp after an obstinate resistance, and a horrible slaughter ensued. One division of the army, consisting of forty thousand, under Artabazus, had, when the day was lost, retreated at once to the Hellespont, but of the remainder it is said that only three thousand survived. The loss of the Greeks was not greater than thirteen or fourteen hundred men. The treasures which fell into the hands of the victors were enormous, and

included every article of oriental luxury: a tithe was consecrated to the god of Delphi, splendid offerings were made to other deities, a large portion was reserved for Pausanias, and the rest was equally divided amongst the different states and generals. The dead were buried, and the Persians erected a tomb over the corpse of Mardonius. The Plataeans were pronounced sacred and inviolable, the duty was entrusted to them of protecting the last resting-places of the departed heroes, and of commemorating their deaths every five years by a public festival. In order to support the expense of these honourable services, eighty talents were assigned to them out of the booty. Amongst those who fell on this glorious day was the survivor of Thermopylæ. He was a marked man, and could not bear to live; he therefore rushed headlong into the thickest of the battle, and selling his life dearly, sought death at the hands of his country's enemies.

Ten days after the battle Pausanias marched against Thebes, and besieged it for twenty days. The traitorous oligarchs, whose influence had caused their countrymen to join the Persians, then surrendered. They were taken to Corinth, and there executed. On the same day on which the battle of Plataea was fought, Leotychides, the Spartan admiral, landed at Mycale in Asia Minor, where the Persian fleet was drawn up on shore, and protected with a wall, as well as by a land force of sixty thousand men. These at first made a stout defence, but then fled to the naval encampment, and both they and the Greeks entered together pell-mell. The victory was a decisive

one ; the Persian fleet was utterly destroyed, and the victorious Greeks sailed to Samos.

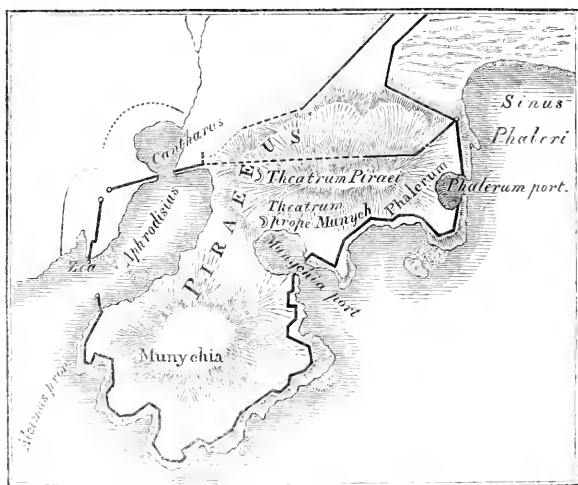
When the Athenians returned from Salamis<sup>1</sup> to their desolate and ruined homes, their first care was to rebuild their city and to protect it with strong fortifications. The Æginetans, jealous as before of the Athenian maritime power, endeavoured through the instrumentality of Sparta to put a stop to this necessary work ; and the Spartans, listening to their suggestions, artfully urged upon the Athenians the policy of leaving their city unfortified, for fear it might become a stronghold for the Persians in the event of another invasion.

Themistocles was shrewd enough to see through their design, but still Athens was not in a position to set at defiance even the advice of Sparta. He therefore recommended the Athenians to send envoys to Sparta, himself amongst the number, to discuss the question. In the meantime he bid the whole Athenian population, male and female, young and old, proceed with the work without intermission. He also instructed his colleagues to delay their joining him at Sparta until the walls were sufficiently advanced to be easily defended. When they arrived he demanded an audience, and openly announced to the assembled Spartans the state in which the fortifications were. They consequently felt that it was too late to interfere, and therefore attempted no further interruption.

His next object was to provide means of defence for the numerous fleet which Athens now possessed.

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 478. Ol. lxxv. 3.

He therefore proceeded to complete the harbours of Phalerum, Munychia, and Piræus, and to surround them with a strong and lofty wall. His original design was a stupendous one, but it was not carried into effect; nevertheless, the wall which protected the forts was no less than sixty feet high. Thus Athens, now possessing a complete arsenal and a powerful fleet, was placed in the position of becoming the first naval power in Greece. The Piræus also



Map of Piræus

grew to be a second town, and the head-quarters of her commercial greatness.

Although the battles of Plataea and Mycale had secured the independence of Greece, the Persians still

retained possession of several towns in Thrace, the island of Cyprus, and the city of Byzantium (Constantinople). A fleet was therefore equipped by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians; and although the former contributed the larger quota, the supremacy of Sparta was recognised by placing it under the command of Pausanias, whilst the Athenian admirals, Aristides and Cimon, served under him. They first set sail for Cyprus, where they met with complete success, and then laid siege to Byzantium, which after a long resistance capitulated.

But the pride of the Spartan regent proved fatal to the supremacy of his country. The simple manners of his country were distasteful to him; he had the vanity and ostentation of an Oriental, and not the stern frugality of a Spartan. He adopted the luxurious habits and dress of Persia, and treacherously endeavoured to gain the favour of the king by conniving at the escape of his relations who had been taken prisoners at Byzantium. In the letter which he sent by them to Xerxes, he even proposed marriage to his daughter, and offered, if the king would help him, to subjugate the whole of Greece to the Persian empire. Xerxes gladly embraced his offer, and promised to aid his plot with both men and money.

Meanwhile, however, before he could mature his design, his Asiatic habits and imperious manners had disgusted his countrymen, and they recalled and superseded him. But the allies had already anticipated them; and by a unanimous vote, with the exception of Ægina and the Peloponnesian states, had summarily transferred the chief command from

Lacedæmon to Athens.<sup>1</sup> This step established the supremacy of Athens on a permanent basis. Her maritime superiority already fitted her for assuming it, and the influence of the Ionian Greeks now placed her at the head of a confederacy, the object of which was to combine for the sake of mutual protection against any future designs on the part of Persia. Each state, in proportion to its ability, was to contribute either ships or a pecuniary subsidy. The amount was to be assessed by the Athenians, who were entrusted with the office of *Hellenotamiae*, or treasurers of Greece. Their treasury was at the temple of Apollo at Delos, and there also deputies met to deliberate upon the affairs of the league. The revenue annually raised (which was called *phoros*), amounted to four hundred and sixty talents (about one hundred and six thousand four hundred pounds); but this sum was equivalent to more than three times that amount in the present day.

Athens, however, found it her interest to encourage in all cases a money payment in lieu of the equipment of ships. This placed at her disposal large sums to be expended upon the increase of her own navy, and at the same time left the subordinate states destitute of the means of resisting her rapidly advancing power.

The period which immediately follows is a dark one, both historically and chronologically. We know nothing more respecting it than the exploits of Cimon, the son of Miltiades. He succeeded Aristides as admiral of the fleet, and in this capacity he achieved

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 477. Ol. lxxv. 4.

the most brilliant successes. He first took Eira, a city on the Strymon, which formed the first stepping-stone to the settlement of Amphipolis, after an obstinate defence by the Persian governor Boges, who, when he found further resistance hopeless, burnt himself and all the members of his family. He next conquered the island of Scyros, and divided the land in allotments amongst Athenian citizens (*cleruchi*). Thirdly, he reduced the town of Carystus in Eubœa<sup>1</sup> by capitulation. He quelled a formidable revolt of the Naxians, which was the more important as being the first symptom of discontent among the members of the league of Delos, and reduced the island to subjection;<sup>2</sup> and, lastly, he won the memorable battle of the Eurymedon.<sup>3</sup> A numerous Persian fleet, supported by a large army, was lying at the mouth of this river, which flows through Pamphylia. Cimon, flushed with his success at Naxos, sailed very soon afterwards to attack them at the head of two hundred Athenian triremes, and one hundred belonging to the allies. The Persians were expecting a reinforcement of eighty ships from Cyprus, and therefore were unwilling to give battle before they arrived. Cimon, however, would not delay his challenge. The contest was a short one. The Persians were soon put to flight, and Cimon immediately landed and attacked the protecting army. This struggle was more obstinate, but at length he put the whole army to the rout, and destroyed two hundred ships out of a much

<sup>1</sup> These three events took place between B.C. 477, Ol. lxxv. 4, and B.C. 466, Ol. lxxviii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> B.C. 466. Ol. lxxviii. 3.

<sup>3</sup> B.C. 465. Ol. lxxviii. 4.

larger fleet, the number of which is differently stated by different authorities. He then sailed for Cyprus, and meeting the eighty ships which the Persians had expected, totally destroyed them.<sup>1</sup>

When Pausanias was recalled, he was accused by the ephors of the crime of Medism, or treasonable dealings with Persia; and although they could not actually convict him, they did not reinstate him in the command of the fleet. For some time he remained quiet, but his vanity did not easily rest satisfied with the obscure condition of a private citizen; he longed to be plotting again. With this view he sailed to Byzantium in a single trireme, and reopened his communications with the satrap Artabazus. From thence he crossed over to the coast of Asia Minor, and pursued the same course. The Lacedæmonians again recalled him; but, even when at home, he continued his treasonable intercourse with Persia.

Still the ephors failed of obtaining decisive proofs of his guilt, until at length the fears of one of his messengers were awakened by observing that none of those who had been sent previously had ever returned. Consequently he opened the letter, and by that means discovered that Artabazus had orders to

<sup>1</sup> This battle furnished the subject for the following epigram:—

These along Eurymedon  
Foremost in the arrowy fray,  
Persia's mighty host upon,  
Threw their golden youth away;  
Warriors thus by land and sea  
Famed for aye in chivalry.

SIMONIDES. *translated by* DE TESSIER.



put him to death. He took the letter to the ephors; but notwithstanding the document, they, with true Spartan caution, would not receive the testimony of a slave. They resolved to find him guilty only on his own confession. They instructed the messenger to take sanctuary in the precincts of the temple of Poseidon (Neptune), whither Pausanias also repaired to seek an explanation from his slave. A conversation ensued which the ephors heard, concealed behind a partition, and were thus satisfied of his guilt.

Before, however, they could arrest him, one of them made him a secret sign, and he fled for refuge to a room attached to the temple of Athene Chalciæcus (*Minerva of the brazen house*). The ephors ordered the door to be built up, and he was starved to death; but just before he expired they dragged him forth in order to save the holy place from pollution.

Themistocles also before this had been suspected of *Medism*, and ostracised.<sup>1</sup> He had retired to Argos, where he was now residing, and after the death of Pausanias proofs were discovered which involved Themistocles in his guilt. The Spartans forwarded information of this to Athens; and as his rival Aristides and the aristocratic party were now in the ascendant, the accusation was readily believed, and immediate measures were taken for his arrest. There may have been real grounds for the suspicion; at any rate, he would not risk a trial, but fled to Corcyra; thence, as the Corcyreans refused him shelter, he took refuge at the court of Admetus, king

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 471. Ol. lxxvii. 2.

of the Molossi in Epirus, and, finally embarking on board a merchantman, arrived safely at Ephesus. On his voyage he was in imminent danger of discovery. A storm drove the vessel to Naxos just at the time of the siege; but making a confidant of the captain, he persuaded him by liberal promises to brave the tempest and not approach the land.

Xerxes was now dead, and his son and successor Artaxerxes received Themistocles kindly, and assigned him for his maintenance the revenues of three cities. Magnesia, where he took up his residence, was to supply him with bread, Myus with meat and other delicacies, and Lampsacus with wine. His quick perceptions, aided by the affinities of the language in some points with the Greek, soon enabled him to master the Persian tongue, and in a year he could delude the king with eloquent promises of the conquest of Greece. Some say that, vexed at having promised more than he was able to perform, he died by poison, administered by his own hand; but the probability is, that he died a natural death. His friends secretly conveyed his remains to Attica, and he was buried in his native land.

Themistocles was a man of brilliant natural talents. He was quick, shrewd, discerning, long-sighted. His genius was ready, and he was equally prompt and decisive in carrying his resolutions into effect. Although he was rapid in drawing his conclusions, his judgment was by no means unsound. The great feature of his mind was practical intelligence. It was his far-seeing policy which transferred the chief interests of Athens from land to sea—a change

the political effect of which was wonderful, for the mob which manned the fleet<sup>1</sup> established democracy on a firm basis. Still the splendour of his talents was marred by avarice and personal vanity, and these little and mean characteristics tempted him to amass wealth, at the expense of honest principle. Although he carried with him into exile some portion of his property, that which was confiscated amounted to one hundred talents (twenty-four thousand pounds). Great was the contrast which he presents in this respect to his disinterested rival Aristides, for he did not leave enough to bury him, or to provide for his children. These duties were undertaken by his grateful country. When he died, four years subsequent to Themistocles,<sup>2</sup> his party was in the ascendant, and the leading statesman of Athens was the aristocratic Cimon, the son of the hero of Marathon.

<sup>1</sup> Arist. Pol. v. 3.

<sup>2</sup> B.C. 463. Ol. lxxviii. 1.

## CHAPTER XII.

BLOCKADE OF THASOS—EARTHQUAKE AT SPARTA—THIRD MESSENIAN WAR—SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF ITHOME—DECLINE OF THE POWER OF CIMON—PERICLES—HIS PRINCIPLES, CHARACTER, AND POLICY—HIS ATTACK UPON THE AREOPAGUS—BATTLES OF TANAGRA AND GENOPHYTA—UNFORTUNATE EXPEDITION TO EGYPT—BUILDING OF THE LONG WALLS—PEACE MADE BETWEEN GREECE AND PERSIA—PERILS OF ATHENS—THIRTY YEARS' TRUCE.

IN the year following the battle of the Eurymedon,<sup>1</sup> the Athenians endeavoured, for the sake of the gold-mines on mount Pangæus, to found a colony on the coast of Thrace. In this design they were opposed by the Thasians, who derived a considerable revenue from some of these mines. Cimon was accordingly sent to blockade the island of Thasos, which, after a siege of nearly three years, was reduced to the condition of a tributary state. Notwithstanding this success, the colony in Thrace was never founded; for the Thracians stoutly resisted the intruders, and on one occasion attacked and cut to pieces a force of ten thousand Athenians and allies.

During the blockade the Thasians applied for help to the Spartans. They traitorously acceded to their request, and made secret preparations for invading the territory of their allies. But they were diverted

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 467. Ol. lxxix. 1.

from their purpose by a terrible earthquake, which destroyed the whole of Sparta, and killed twenty thousand of its inhabitants. The Messenians, aided by others of the Helot inhabitants, availed themselves of this national calamity, to strike a sudden blow for the recovery of their freedom. Superstition increased their enthusiasm, for it was thought that the earthquake had been sent by the god Poseidon (*Neptune*) to avenge the profanation of his sanctuary by the murder of Pausanias. The revolted first attacked the ruined capital, but without success; they then occupied Ithome, as their ancestors had done before, and held out successfully against the besieging army of Sparta for more than two years.

Unable to reduce the place, and aware of the reputation which the Athenians enjoyed for skill in carrying on sieges, the Spartans applied to their old rivals for assistance. The Athenians were very unwilling to grant it; for although Cimon and the aristocratic party were still in the ascendant, the seeds sown by the far-sighted policy of Themistocles were beginning to bear fruit, and the rising democracy shrank from sending help to oligarchical Lacedæmon. Cimon, however, overruled their objections, and a force of four thousand hoplites was sent to Sparta under his command.

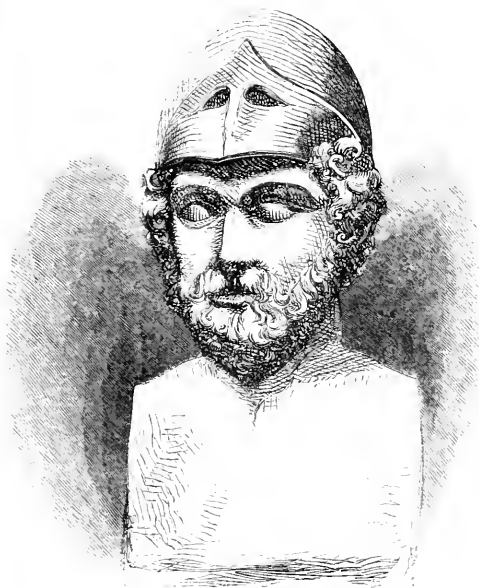
Even so strong a reinforcement did not enable the Spartans to triumph; and this jealous people, judging of their allies by their own frequent treacheries, began to entertain groundless suspicions of them, and at last rudely declined their services. The Athenians, justly offended at their abrupt dismissal, marched

home. Athens broke off her connexion with Sparta, and made an alliance with her formidable rival Argos, and with this state, Megara and Thessaly, formed a defensive league against Sparta. Ithome held out for nine years, and then surrendered on condition that the garrison and inhabitants should quit the Peloponnese. The Athenians gave them as a settlement the town of Naupactus, on the gulf of Corinth. Thus ended this memorable struggle, which is commonly called the third Messenian War.<sup>1</sup>

The ill-success of the expedition against Ithome was visited by his countrymen upon Cimon, whose power appears, like his politics, to have been already on the wane. For some time whilst democratic sentiments had been strengthening, the only means by which he had maintained his influence over the popular mind were his brilliant success in war, which this ill-starred affair had dimmed, and the patriotic munificence and generosity with which he spent his ample fortune. He had now to combat with a formidable rival. At this crisis there appeared upon the political stage the greatest statesman Athens could ever boast of—Pericles. His principles admirably adapted him for his times, and yet he was sufficiently in advance of them to lead and guide his countrymen in their onward progress to constitutional liberty. His talents and eloquence pointed him out as the head of the democratical party; and his descent from the reformer Clisthenes marked him as the hereditary representative of liberal principles; whilst his thoughtful and philosophical mind,

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 454. Ol. lxxxi. 2

his refined and liberal education, and, above all, his incorruptible honesty, forbade him to pander to the bad passions of an Athenian mob, and to become that greatest curse to a people—a demagogue.



Bust of Pericles.

He was not a great soldier like Cimon; but Cimon's military splendour was just now under a cloud; and, besides, the struggle between aristocratic and democratic principles was not to be carried on by arms. Nor was he a wealthy man, and therefore able to dazzle, like Cimon, by lavish expenditure; but his

cultivated taste taught the people to spend their own money properly, and, owing to his able and skilful financial administration, they had always plenty to spend without causing them to feel the pressure of



Aspasia

extravagance. Thus it was not by bribery and corruption that Pericles swayed the *ecclesia*, but by the judicious expenditure of the public revenues. Out of those resources he supported on a splendid scale the theatrical exhibitions to which the Athenians were so devotedly attached, and adorned the city with noble works of art and magnificent buildings.

The first attempt which Pericles made to diminish the influence and power of the aristocracy, was an attack upon the privileges of the high court of Areopagus. His coadjutor in this measure was his friend Ephialtes. Aristides had so far bowed to the spirit of the age, twenty years before this, as to open



the doors of this venerable assembly to the lowest class of citizens, when he rendered the Thetes eligible to the archonship. But this measure only admitted others to share in the rights of the aristocracy; that of Pericles deprived the court itself of some of its functions. What the changes were which were made by Pericles in its constitution is unknown; but there is no doubt that its judicial functions were greatly circumscribed and its political power almost entirely destroyed. The most energetic struggles were made in its defence by Cimon and his party, but in vain; he was ostracised, and Pericles was triumphant.<sup>1</sup> The poet Æschylus, in his tragedy of the Eumenides, in vain invoked the sympathies of Athens in its favour, as their most august court, and represented their patron goddess as mysteriously presiding over its decisions. The tide of unpopularity was so strong, that even their greatest poet was driven to seek refuge at the court of Syracuse; and so unscrupulous was the beaten party, that Ephialtes was assassinated by a hired bravo.

The successes of the Athenians which were achieved in the next three years, show the rapid advance of their power. Their ancient rivals, the Æginetans, were no longer able to cope with them; but were conquered, compelled to surrender their fleet, raze their fortifications to the ground, and become tributary; and although an invading army from Sparta defeated an Athenian force at Tanagra, in Bœotia, the loss of this battle was more than compensated by a signal victory gained over the Bœotians at

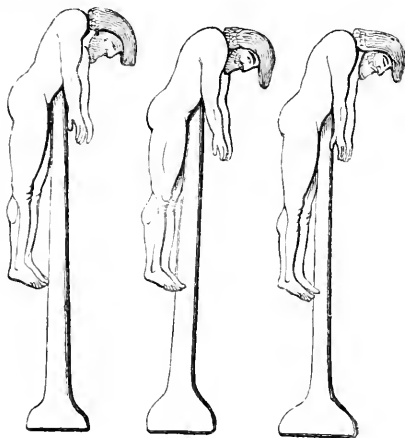
<sup>1</sup> B. C. 459. Ol. lxxx. 2.

Œnophyta, by their general Myronides, which effectually broke the power of Thebes.

The battle of Tanagra is rendered especially interesting, by the influence which it had on the fortunes of Cimon. Just before it began, the illustrious exile entreated to be allowed to fight in the ranks. His request was refused; but a band of his friends rallying round his armour as a standard, performed such prodigies of valour, as to remove from his party all suspicion of unpatriotic feeling. His countrymen relented: Pericles himself moved the revocation of the sentence of ostracism, and he was recalled.

During this time an Athenian fleet, cruising in the neighbourhood of Cyprus, was still keeping alive the dying embers of the Persian war. Inarus, a Libyan prince, had already supplanted the power of Persia in Lower Egypt, and sent to ask aid from the Athenians in expelling the Persians from Egypt altogether. The fleet at Cyprus, two hundred triremes strong, readily complied with his request; sailed up the Nile, and took the whole of Memphis, except one fort, called "The White Tower." The Persians held this long enough for Artaxerxes to send an army and a fleet, which first drove the besieging army to an island in the Nile, and there defeated it and put almost the whole of it to the sword. Inarus himself was impaled, and fifty Athenian ships which had arrived as a reinforcement, in ignorance of the disaster, were all either sunk or taken. Well would it have been for Athens if this ill-starred expedition, in which she lost one of her best fleets,

had taught her the folly of interfering in foreign and distant wars.<sup>1</sup>



Prisoners impaled.

As Themistocles fortified the city and its harbour, so Pericles put the finishing-stroke to this important work, by uniting the Piræus and Phalerum with the city, by what were called the long walls; the former of these (a double wall) was forty stadia, the latter thirty-five stadia in length.<sup>2</sup> They occupied about three years in building, and were completed in the same year in which the disastrous expedition to Egypt took place.

The old influence of Cimon seems now in some measure to have revived; for through his instrumentality a truce for five years was made between

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 455. Ol. lxxxi. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The stadium was .1149 of a mile in length.

Sparta and Athens,<sup>1</sup> and he himself was employed on active service. He sailed to Cyprus, in command of two hundred triremes, and laid siege to Citium, where he died.<sup>2</sup> The siege was eventually raised by his successor, Anaxierates. The Persian war, which had been still weakly lingering on, may be said in this year to have arrived at its conclusion; for a peace was made between Greece and Persia, which is sometimes called "the peace of Cimon," and which secured to the Asiatic colonies independence, and to Persia the undisturbed possession of Cyprus and Egypt.

Perils now crowded thickly upon Athens, which seemed to threaten the stability of her empire. An oligarchical revolution in Bœotia overset the democracies which she had established there; Eubœa revolted; and whilst Pericles was engaged in quelling the insurrection, Megara attempted to rid itself of the Athenian yoke, and the Spartans, with whom the five years' truce had just expired, invaded Attica under the command of their young king, Pleistoanax, and laid waste the sacred territory of Eleusis. Pericles crossed over from Eubœa, and by a bribe induced Pleistoanax to retreat. He then returned to Eubœa, conquered it, and allotted a large portion of the land to Athenian colonists. But he felt it necessary to conclude a somewhat disadvantageous peace with Lacedæmon for thirty years. The conditions of it were, the resignation of all the Athenian conquests in the Peloponnese, and also of the Megarian ports of Nisæa and Pegæ.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 452. Ol. lxxxii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 449. Ol. lxxxii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> B. C. 445. Ol. lxxxiii. 4.

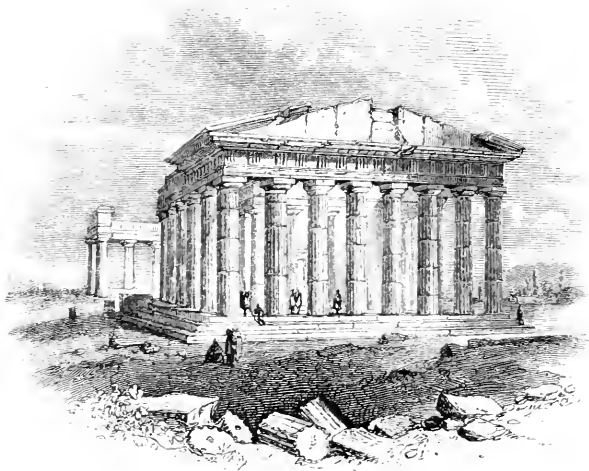
## CHAPTER XIII.

SUPREMACY OF PERICLES—REVOLUTION AND SUBJUGATION OF SAMOS—CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR—JEALOUSY OF THE POWER OF ATHENS—EPIDAMNUS—QUARREL BETWEEN CORCYRA AND CORINTH—NAVAL VICTORY OF THE CORCYREANS—DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE BETWEEN ATHENS AND CORCYRA—VICTORY OF THE CORINTHIANS—AFFAIR OF POTIDÆA—CONGRESS AT SPARTA—WAR DETERMINED UPON—RECIPROCAL DEMANDS OF ATHENS AND SPARTA—BOTH SIDES PREPARE FOR WAR—THE THEBANS SUDDENLY ATTACK PLATÆA.

THE aristocratic party at Athens was now fast expiring; Pericles had no rival worthy of him after the death of Cimon. Thucydides, the son of Melesias, around whom all that remained of that party rallied, had neither the gallantry in war, nor the temper in peace, which enabled his great relative, Cimon, to recommend even unpopular principles. In two years he was ostracised, and Pericles reigned supreme. The prospect of a long peace enabled him to devote himself to his great object—the beautifying of the city. To his administration Athens owed the Parthenon, built by Phidias; the ivory statue of Athene, forty-seven feet high, the work of the same artist;<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to Pliny, the Minerva of Phidias, his most celebrated work after his Jupiter Olympius, was erected upon a pedestal of eight feet, adorned with bas-reliefs representing the birth of Pandora. Her ægis was of gold, and in its centre a Medusa's head in ivory. In her right hand she bore a Victory in ivory, six feet high,

the Propylæa of the Acropolis; and the Odeum, or Music Theatre. Besides these embellishments, he



The Parthenon, Athens.

built a third long wall, extending from the city to the Piræus, and considerably improved the Piræus itself.<sup>1</sup>

In the fifth year of the thirty years' truce a private with wings and drapery of gold. Her left hand grasped a golden spear. On the edge of her Tyrian sandals was sculptured in relief the battle of the Centaurs and the Lapithæ. On the exterior of her shield were the wars of the Amazons; on the interior, those of the gods with the giants. A restoration of this statue, in ivory and gold, executed by M. Simast at the expense of the Duke de Luyine, is exhibited at the Paris Fine Arts Exhibition this year (1855).

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 455. Ol. lxxxi. 2.

quarrel broke out between the Samians and Milesians. The Samian government was oligarchical, but a democratical party in the island favoured the Milesians and joined with them in making a complaint to Athens. Pericles was accordingly sent with forty ships, and established a democratical constitution; but after his departure the old government surprised the Athenian garrison, upset the democracy, and openly raised the standard of revolt against Athens. Pericles immediately set sail again with sixty triremes; and on this occasion Sophocles, the tragic poet, was associated with him in the command. The noble political and moral sentiments which he had shown in his tragedy of "Antigone" had been so enthusiastically appreciated by his fellow-countrymen, that they rewarded the great dramatist by making him an admiral. The event, however, proved, as might be expected, that it does not necessarily follow that a great literary man should be fit for the administration of public affairs. The oligarchical party, however, were blockaded in Samos, which, after a siege of eight months, capitulated; the fortifications were razed to the ground, the fleet was surrendered, and the inhabitants were compelled to pay one thousand talents as the cost of the war.

One great fault of democracies is, that whilst they are jealous of any infraction of their own constitutional liberties, they are grasping, overbearing, and tyrannical towards such states as are in any way dependent upon them. And so Athens, which began by being the steward or treasurer, had now become the tyrant of the Greek confederacy. Nor did she scruple to

confess that this was the case ; and to declare, that whether her supremacy was or was not founded on justice, it must be maintained simply by the right of the strongest. The lesser states, therefore, were discontented ; the greater, jealous of Athens. It was only necessary for Sparta to raise the cry that she was ready to stand forth as the liberator of Greece from Athenian tyranny, in order to divide Greece at once into two opposite parties. Any event, however slight, would lead to the bloodiest of all wars—that, namely, between opposite races and opposite political principles ; and this event now occurred.

Corinth had in times long gone by founded a colony in the island of Corecra (*Corfu*), which, inheriting the commercial enterprise of its mother city, had become prosperous and wealthy. The Corecræans had in their turn founded the city of Epidamnus (*Durazzo*), on the coast of Illyria, and had, according to custom, chosen the leader of their colony from Corinth. Epidamnus, like most of the little states in Greece, became in process of time the scene of civil strife and commotion. The Ionian or democratical faction rose against the Dorian aristocracy, and expelled them from the city ; the exiles, reinforced by the friendly aid of the neighbouring barbarian tribes, laid waste the territory of Epidamnus with fire and sword.

The Epidamnians, thus hardly pressed, sought aid from their metropolis Corecra, but without success—for the political principles of the Corecræans were aristocratic—and, being disappointed, asked the advice of the Delphian oracle. The answer which



they received was, that they should apply for help to Corinth, the mother city of themselves as well as of Coreyra, and therefore their virtual founder. The Corinthians willingly complied with their request, and immediately despatched to Epidamnus a force consisting of fresh colonists and an armed garrison. This interference provoked the anger of the Coreyræans, who demanded the immediate restoration of the aristocratic exiles, and the dismissal of the Corinthians; and in order to enforce compliance with these demands, they blockaded the place with a fleet of forty sail.

The Corinthians upon this assembled a still larger fleet, both of themselves and their allies, and the Coreyræans endeavoured to avoid hostilities by sending a proposal to Corinth that the matter should be arranged by arbitration. The Corinthians, however, would not consent to treat until the Coreyræans had raised the siege. All attempts at negotiation were fruitless, and a naval battle was fought in the Ambracian Gulf, almost on the same spot as the more celebrated battle of Actium, in later times. The fine fleet of the Coreyræans, numbering eighty-five ships, defeated seventy-five Corinthian vessels, and took fifteen of them; and the same day Epidamnus capitulated, the inhabitants were sold as slaves, and the Corinthian garrison were made prisoners of war.<sup>1</sup>

The Corinthians were greatly annoyed by the triumphant success of the Coreyræans, and employed themselves with great energy in building ships and raising troops, in order to retrieve their lost position. By this

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 435. Ol. lxxxvi. 2.

means the fleet amounted to one hundred and fifty ships. The Corcyraeans were alarmed at these demonstrations, and sent ambassadors to Athens to propose an alliance; and the Corinthians, seeing that it would be hopeless to resist these two great naval powers united, sent envoys also to oppose them, and to remind the Athenians that they were under great obligations to them. The question was debated in the public assembly on two days: on the first day the majority were in favour of the Corinthians, but in the second debate the arguments of Pericles and his party prevailed; but in order to avoid breaking the thirty years' truce, only a defensive alliance was concluded with Corcyra.

In accordance with this temporising policy, a small force, consisting of ten Athenian triremes, sailed for Corcyra, with orders to do nothing more than protect their new allies from the attacks of their enemies. The Corinthians sent a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, which took up its position in the roads off the promontory of Chimerium, in Epirus; whilst the Corcyraeans with one hundred and ten ships, together with the ten Athenian triremes, set sail for the island called Sybota (*swine-pastures*). Soon after this a battle was fought, the greatest naval engagement which had ever taken place between Greeks. It was, however, more like a battle by land than by sea, for neither parties understood naval tactics or manœuvres. However, after a hardly-contested struggle, the Corinthians were victorious. The Athenians now saw that it was high time to interfere; and the Corinthians were just upon the point of

renewing the attack, when suddenly they sailed away in full retreat. They had seen in the distance a reinforcing squadron of twenty Athenian ships, and did not think themselves equal to cope with their adversaries. The result was, that after some parley both sides claimed the victory, and erected a trophy.<sup>1</sup>

This was the first overt cause of the Peloponnesian war; the second grew out of an attempt on the part of the Corinthians to have their revenge. Potidæa, a town situated on the isthmus which joins Pallene to the mainland, was a tributary state of the Athenian confederacy; but it was also a colony from Corinth, and therefore the mother city used to send annually magistrates to maintain the Corinthian influence in the town. Perdiccas, king of Macedon, having taken offence against the Athenians, excited the Potidæans to revolt, and, consequently, the Athenians despatched an armament, requiring the Potidæans to raze their walls to the ground, and to dismiss the Corinthian magistrates. The Potidæans simultaneously sent ambassadors to Athens to deprecate such extreme measures, and also to the Lacedæmonians, in order to urge them to declare war against Athens.

From the Spartans they met with encouragement, for they promised to invade Attica in case an attack was made upon Potidæa. The Potidæans, therefore, being joined by the neighbouring Chalcidians and Bottiæans, openly revolted. The movements of the Athenians were not so rapid as they ought to have been, and thus the Corinthians had time to reinforce the Potidæan garrison with two thousand men, under

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 432. Ol. lxxxvi. 4.

the command of Aristeus; but they sent a second fleet, which, joining the first, laid siege to Pydna, compelled Perdiccas to consent to a peace, and then marched straightway to attack Potidæa. Aristeus met them in the neighbourhood of Olynthus, but the Athenians beat him, although their general Callias fell. Aristeus succeeded in throwing himself into Potidæa, and the Athenians being reinforced by sixteen hundred more troops, under the command of Phormio, cut off by lines of entrenchment the communication between Potidæa and the mainland, and at the same time blockaded the town by sea.

The Spartans, instigated by the Corinthians and other allies, now summoned a congress of delegates from the leading states of their confederacy. The Megarians complained of the arbitrary restrictions which the Athenians had imposed upon their trade, and other states represented their peculiar grievances. The Corinthian delegate, who spoke last, complained of the ambition and bad faith of Athens. An Athenian envoy, who happened to be at Sparta at the time, defended the policy of his country, and declared that the Spartans had no business to interfere. The king Archidamus advocated peace, but the ephor Sthenelaidas spoke in favour of war, and the question being put, the majority voted with the latter. The Lacedæmonians then, as usual, consulted the Delphic oracle; and as they received a favourable answer, a second congress was summoned, in which also the majority declared in favour of war. The Corinthians took the principal part in the discussion, and recommended that the Peloponnesian confederacy should borrow

from the treasures at Olympia and Delphi, in order that they might have wherewith to tempt the Athenian mercenaries to desert.<sup>1</sup>

Still, however, the Lacedæmonians, with characteristic caution, sent envoys to Athens, bearing specific demands, with a view to throw upon the Athenians the responsibility of commencing hostilities. They required, first, the exile of the Alcmaeonid family, on the ground that the sacrilegious murder of Cylon's partisans had not been expiated, and had descended as a polluting stain to successive generations.

This blow was aimed at their bitter enemy, the great Athenian statesman Pericles, who was a member of that illustrious house. To a certain extent their manœuvre was successful, for it gave a handle against him to his political enemies. They persecuted his most intimate friends, an accomplished lady named Aspasia, and the philosopher Anaxagoras; they accused him and the great sculptor Phidias of secretly purloining some of the gold which was entrusted to them for ornamenting the statue of Athenè. Pericles was acquitted, but Phidias, before the day of trial arrived, died in prison. In vain the remnant of the aristocratic party took this opportunity of exciting a prejudice against Pericles; the people stood by him, and retorted upon the Lacedæmonians with a similar demand. They required expiation to be made for the two following acts of sacrilege:—firstly, for the slaying of some Helots, whom they had forcibly dragged out of the sanctuary of Posidon, at Tænarus;<sup>2</sup> and secondly, for the violation of the

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 432. Ol. lxxxvi. 4.      <sup>2</sup> B. C. 466. Ol. lxxviii. 3.

temple of Athenè Chalciæcus by the death of Pausanias.

Neither of these reciprocal demands was complied with, and the Spartans then proceeded to require the withdrawal of the Athenian force from Potidæa, the recognition of Greek independence, and the removal of all restrictions which had been imposed upon the trade of Megara. Had this last been the only condition, peace perhaps might have been maintained, but Pericles plainly showed the Ecclesia that compliance on this point would avail nothing, and that the resources of Athens were never in a better position for repelling any hostile aggression. The Athenians, therefore, refused to satisfy the demands of Sparta, and both sides prepared for war, although it was not as yet formally declared.

In the following spring an event occurred which led to an open outbreak. The little town of Plataea was distracted by two opposite factions—one in favour of oligarchy, and therefore close friends with the Boeotian confederacy, in which Thebes was the leading state; the other in favour of democracy, and, consequently, sympathising with Athens. The oligarchs commenced an intrigue with the Thebans, and during the unsuspecting quiet of a religious festival admitted a body of three hundred Thebans into the town, hoping by their help to overthrow the democratical constitution, and to transfer Plataea from the Athenian alliance to the Boeotian league.<sup>1</sup>

The Thebans marched to the market-place, and the Plataeans, thus suddenly surprised, were at first

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 431. Ol. lxxxvii. 1.

much alarmed; but when they saw how few in numbers their invaders were, they barricaded the streets, attacked the Thebans from the houses, killed a great many, and took one hundred and eighty prisoners. Fresh troops had been sent from Thebes, but they were delayed by rain and floods, and arrived too late. This reinforcement was proceeding to plunder the surrounding country, when a flag of truce from the town promised the safety of the prisoners if they would desist from hostilities; but no sooner had they retired than the Plataeans, notwithstanding remonstrances on the part of Athens, massacred them all. The Athenians then made all the Boeotians in their territory prisoners of war, placed a garrison in Plataea, and removed all the old men, women, and children for safety to Athens.

The Lacedæmonians immediately commenced hostilities, and the thirty years' truce was broken in the fifteenth year of its continuance. The Isthmus was appointed as the place of rendezvous for the Peloponnesian army, and orders were sent to the allies to send thither a contingent of two-thirds of their force, in order to invade Attica. The peaceful Archidamus still hoped the threatened invasion might bring the Athenians to terms, and actually sent an envoy to Athens. But Pericles had him escorted back to the frontier, and the flame of war was immediately kindled.

## CHAPTER XIV.

PELOPONNESIAN WAR RUINOUS TO GREECE—SYMPATHY WITH SPARTA—  
ENUMERATION OF THE ALLIES ON BOTH SIDES—FLEET, ARMY, AND REVE-  
NUE OF ATHENS—TACTICS OF THE PELOPONNESIAN ALLIES—MEASURES  
OF PERICLES TO COUNTERACT THEM—CONSEQUENT SUFFERINGS—INVA-  
SION OF ATTICA BY ARCHIDAMUS—RETALIATION ON THE PELOPONNESE—  
METHONE RELIEVED BY BRASIDAS—INVASION OF MEGARA—ALLIANCE  
WITH SITALCES—PUBLIC FUNERAL—THE PLAGUE AT ATHENS—CAPITULA-  
TION OF POTIDÆA.

THE tyranny of Athens was universally hated as much as her power was feared; and the whole youth of Greece, whose lives had been passed in peace, and who had, therefore, no experience of the horrors of war, were eager for the commencement of hostilities. They discerned not that this breaking up of all national sympathies would be in the end the cause of ruin and humiliation to their common country.

That the Peloponnesian war could be otherwise than inexpressibly disastrous was impossible, because it was nothing more nor less than a civil war. The Persian war ennobled both the moral and intellectual faculties of Greece, because she was struggling for her national independence—nay, her national existence—against an unjust aggression. But in this conflict, the prejudices of race, the virulence of political faction, even the bitterness of private enmi-



ties, were fostered, so that eventually strife became incurable and forgiveness of injuries impossible; and thus divided, Greece fell an easy victim to her warlike and powerful foes.

Most of the Greeks sympathised with Sparta, because her policy towards the members of her confederacy was far more liberal than that of Athens, and because she professed that her design in engaging in this war was to liberate Greece from the despotic supremacy of Athens. Sparta did not covet extended dominion; it was contrary to the genius of her constitution. She cared only for the extension of her political principles, and was, therefore, quite content if her allies would adopt an oligarchical constitution, or in some cases consent to the presence of a Spartan magistrate, who should ensure the ascendancy of Spartan politics. Athens, on the other hand, insisted on absolute and unqualified supremacy. Her allied states were her subjects, and tributaries to her empire, the means of swelling her revenues, and maintaining her naval power. It is a characteristic feature of democracies to be jealous protectors of their own liberty, and oppressive and arbitrary in their intercourse with weaker states.

But the general inclinations of Greece towards Sparta were interfered with by difference of race as well as of political principle. These causes principally decided the choice of sides in the Peloponnesian war. The whole of the Peloponnese being Dorian, sided with Sparta, with the exception of Argos and, for a time, Achæa. The latter was Ionian; but at length the proximity of Spartan interests prevailed,

and the Achæans changed sides. Argos, being the ancient rival of Sparta, and powerful enough to pursue an independent course, remained neutral. The states without the Peloponnese, which joined the Spartan confederacy, were those of Ambracium, Anactorium, Bœotia, Leucas, Locris, Megara, and Phocis. Corinth and the other states on the bay furnished the fleet. Bœotia, Locris, and Phocis supplied a small force of efficient cavalry. The Spartans expected that their small navy would receive considerable augmentation from the Dorian colonies in Sicily and Italy, and that a fleet would also be sent to them by the king of Persia. Their army numbered about sixty thousand men.

The allies of the Athenians on the continent of Greece were the Acarnanians, Messenians of Naupactus, Plateæans, and Thessalians. But their naval and commercial influence rendered them very strong in the islands and other maritime states. In the Ionian sea they were joined by the islands of Corcyra (*Corfu*), Cephallenia (*Cefalonia*), and Zacynthus (*Zante*); in the Ægean sea by all the islands except Melos and Thera, and also by the Greek cities on the coasts of Asia Minor, the Hellespont, and Thrace. The Chians, Corcyræans, and Lesbians were the main contributors to the fleet; the Thessalians supplied them with cavalry. The whole Athenian fleet numbered three hundred triremes, and was manned by fifty thousand men. Besides numerous inferior garrisons, they had twenty-nine thousand heavy-armed infantry, of whom thirteen thousand were in the prime of life and fit for service in the field, whilst

the remainder garrisoned the walls and harbours of Athens. They had besides, twelve hundred cavalry and sixteen hundred archers. Their ready money in the treasury amounted to six thousand talents (one million four hundred and forty thousand pounds), besides the gold plates which covered the colossal statue of Athenè, and which were capable of being removed in case of need, and the treasures and Persian spoils stored up in the various temples, which could be made use of on an emergency, and which were valued at one thousand talents (two hundred and forty thousand pounds) more. The revenue from the tributary states and other sources enriched the treasury annually by no less a sum than six thousand talents (one hundred and forty-four thousand pounds).

This was enormous wealth for so small a state as Athens, for it must be remembered that the values given above are only the bullion values, *i. e.* the worth of the same weights of gold and silver at the present day. But if the price of the precious metals at the time of the Peloponnesian war be compared with that of other commodities, it may be calculated that money would go at least three times as far as it does in the present day. The annual revenue of Athens therefore was equivalent to four hundred and thirty-two thousand pounds per annum, and she had more than five millions in hand to defray the expenses of the war.

The tactics pursued by the Peloponnesian allied force in the conduct of the war were as follows: the allies were to send to the Isthmus for each campaign two-thirds of the contingent which they were bound

to furnish, and with this force to make an invasion into Attica when the corn was ripe, destroy the crops, and then march back again. As soon as the annual campaign was concluded, the whole force was disbanded, and each man returned to his own city. This was good policy on their part, for the Athenians, like the English, were much attached to their farms and country-houses, and to the amusements and occupations of rural life. Their wily enemy therefore imagined that this species of warfare would (as it really did) harass and annoy them, and that it would either weary them out, and thus bring them to terms, or else provoke them to risk a general engagement.

Pericles was sharp-sighted enough to see through this plan, and took the wisest measures for counter-acting it. He recommended the Athenians to leave their estates and farms, and to allow the Peloponnesians to waste and destroy them as they pleased. He even advised them to pull down their rural dwellings and buildings wherever it was possible, to convey the materials and all their movable property within the walls of Athens, and to transport their live stock for safety to Eubœa and to the adjacent islands. Obedience to these injunctions involved great self-denial and considerable hardship. The words put into the mouth of Dicæopolis by Aristophanes, in his comedy of "The Acharnians," expressed the feelings of many an Athenian citizen:—

"Ever and anon I cast mine eye  
Upon the blooming fields, and breathe a prayer  
Of earnestness for peace. As for the town,  
Fogs and east winds light on it!"

MITCHELL'S *Translation.*

But the Athenians saw that there was nothing else to be done, and therefore, although reluctantly, complied with his suggestions, and kept to them as long as he lived. Their sufferings, however, in consequence were very great. The state of Athens became almost intolerable, owing to the crowds which flocked into it from the surrounding country. Every house overflowed, and those who could not thus find shelter occupied the bastions of the walls, and encamped in miserable huts on every vacant space of ground, and even in the consecrated precincts of the temples. A superstitious belief of long standing was set at defiance, for a piece of ground called the *Pelasgicum* was covered with dwellings, although an ancient oracle had declared that it was better for Athens that it should remain unoccupied.

By this policy of Pericles, the force, which would otherwise have been employed in protecting the country around, was available for making attacks on the coasts of the Peloponnese, whilst the city of Athens, with a numerous fleet to protect her ports, and an extensive commercial intercourse with the neighbouring corn countries, had no reason to fear any failure of supplies even for her numerous population.

Archidamus, king of Sparta, at the head of the Peloponnesian army, now marched into Attica. After making an unsuccessful attempt to besiege the frontier fortress of Cœnoë, he laid waste the Thriasian and Eleusinian plains, (which were districts of remarkable fertility,) notwithstanding some slight opposition on the part of a body of Athenian cavalry, and then advancing within seven or eight miles of the capital,

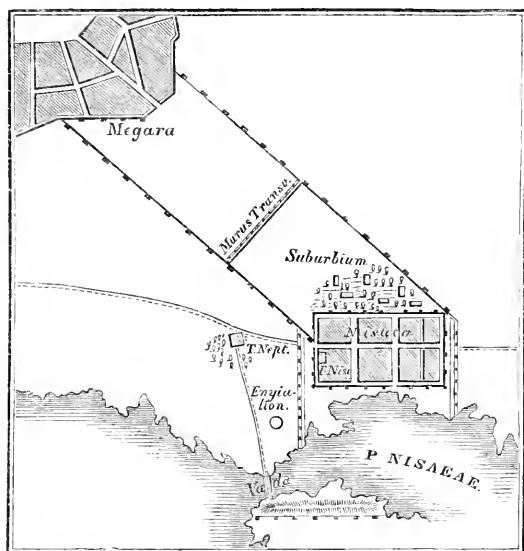
began to ravage Acharnæ, the most flourishing and extensive of the Attic *demi* or boroughs. The miserable inhabitants could even see from the walls of Athens the devastations which the enemy were committing in their pleasant fields. They beheld with grief and indignation the smoke rising from the homesteads which they had deserted; they longed for the fray, and even denounced Pericles as the traitorous cause of all their troubles. They were eager to fight for their hearths and homes; but the wise statesman was not to be moved; he stood firm to his determination; and Archidamus, finding that it was impossible to provoke the Athenians to a general engagement, evacuated Attica, marched to the westward through Bœotia, and disbanded his army.

It was part of the policy of Pericles to employ the Athenian fleet in retaliating upon the coasts of the Peloponnese the injuries done by the devastation of Attica, and a fleet of one hundred triremes was put in commission for that purpose. This armament, aided by fifty Coreyræan ships, inflicted no small loss by their energetic operations, which extended as far to the eastward as the coast of Acarnania, and westward to Ægina, the inhabitants of which island were expelled, and their lands divided amongst Athenian settlers. The Æginetans took refuge in the Peloponnese, and the Lacedæmonians allowed them to form a settlement in the border district of Thyreatis.

The only opposition which the Athenian fleet met with in their raid upon the coasts of the Peloponnese was from Brasidas, who afterwards proved himself one of the most celebrated of the Lacedæmonian

generals. This was the first occasion on which we find his name recorded in history. The Athenians had almost succeeded in getting possession of Methone, a town in Laconia, when Brasidas, at the head of a small force, boldly threw himself into the place, and rescued it from the hands of the almost victorious enemy.

Such were the operations during the first summer of the war. In the autumn, immediately after Archidamus had retired, Pericles with an army of thirteen thousand



Map of Megara.

men invaded and laid waste the territory of that old commercial rival of Athens, Megara, which had joined

the Peloponnesian confederacy. Twice in the year, generally speaking, throughout the whole war was this annoying and devastating kind of warfare repeated. Besides the active measures of this first campaign, the Athenians strengthened themselves against their faithless northern subjects by an alliance with Sitalces, king of the Thracian Odrysæ. The comic poet bears testimony to the warm friendship which this barbarian potentate conceived for Athens. He says in his "Acharnians :"—

"The very walls  
Bear token of his fondness. Fair Athenians !  
Charming Athenians ! still meet your eye,  
In well-writ characters, at every turn."

The son of Sitalces, on whom the Athenians conferred the honour of citizenship, is represented as asking his father to help his fellow-citizens, and the reply is—

"I'll send them such an host,  
A force, that whoso sees them shall exclaim,  
'Why, here's a host of locusts come among us !'" MITCHELL.

The year concluded with a sad and solemn ceremony. A public funeral was decreed in honour of those brave heroes who had fallen in the cause of their country, and Pericles displayed his eloquence and sympathy, as he already had his statesmanship and valour, in pronouncing over them a funeral oration.

In the following spring<sup>1</sup> Archidamus invaded Attica a second time. But a more terrible and resistless foe was at hand. The plague, which had already depopulated Egypt and part of Asia, made its appearance

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 430. Ol. lxxxvii. 3.

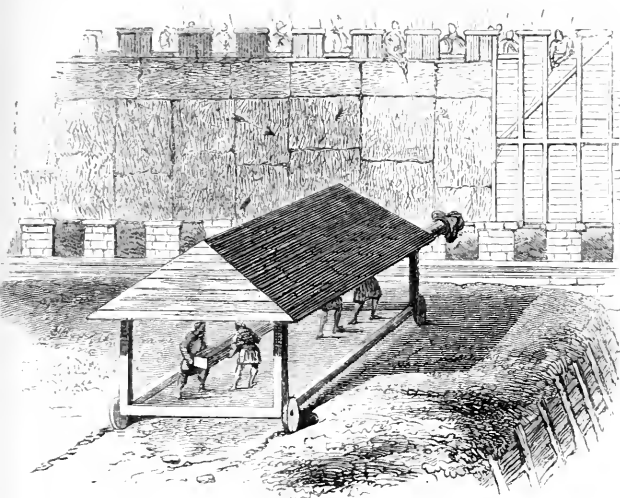


in the Athenian port of Piræus. Thence it rapidly spread to the city of Athens itself, where it mowed down the crowded population. The violence of the disease baffled the skill of the physicians. Under whatever disease any one laboured it ended in this and a few days of burning fever and unquenchable thirst generally terminated the sufferings of the wretched victims. Despondency, the result of the prostration of physical strength, rendered them incapable of bearing up against the virulence of the distemper, and frequently the intellectual powers sank entirely, and gave way to confirmed idiocy. The moral consequences of the disease were still more awful; some became gloomy and selfish, and the dread of infection hardened their hearts against the claims of duty and affection. Despair of recovery, the feeling that the sufferer had but a few short hours to live, acting upon the ignorance of another life, drove them into unbounded sensuality and debauchery. The thought of these lost ones was, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." This dreadful scourge, wonderful to say, did not penetrate the Peloponnese, so that both the homes and the army of Lacedæmon escaped its ravages.

Emboldened by the miseries of their plague-stricken enemies, Archidamus and his army extended their foray further south than they had done in the former year, and having penetrated as far as the mines of Laurion, retreated, after a campaign of forty days. But they did not confine their operations to the mainland. Their fleet, one hundred strong, attacked Zacynthus, and some of their ships and of their allies

carried on a piratical warfare, which caused great annoyance to Athenian commerce. The prisoners which they took were cruelly massacred, which led to the following retaliation on the part of Athens. Envoys from Sparta visited the court of Sitalces, with a view to seduce him from his alliance with Athens. They were arrested by his son Sadocus, sent to Athens, and put to death without trial.

In the winter, the blockade of Potidæa, which had continued two years, came to a close. The besieged had been reduced to the last extremity of famine, and had even begun to feed on the bodies of the slain. The Athenian army also had been infected with the plague, which had been brought to them by reinforcements from Athens, and the mortality was as severe as it had been in the capital. No less than one-fourth fell victims to its virulence. These sufferings, together with a winter of unusual severity, induced the Athenians to grant the besieged favourable conditions, and the garrison readily capitulated.



Battering Ram Siege of Plataea.

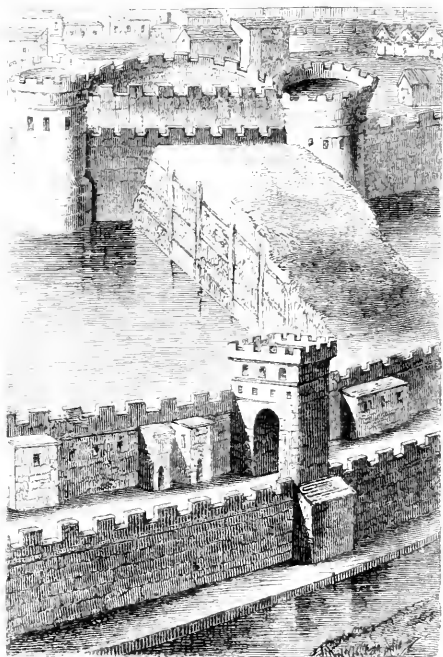
## CHAPTER XV.

SIEGE OF PLATEA—BLOCKADE FOR TWO YEARS—BATTLES IN CORINTHIAN GULF—SITALCES INVADERS MACEDONIA—DEATH OF PERICLES—HIS CHARACTER—REBELLION OF MYTILENE—OPERATIONS OF SPARTA AND ATHENS—FIRST PROPERTY-TAX AT ATHENS—ARMING OF THE MYTILENEAN DEMOS—MYTILENE CAPITULATES—DISCUSSION AT ATHENS RESPECTING THE MYTILENEANS—CLEON DESCRIBED—ORDER TO PUT THE MYTILENEANS TO DEATH—THE ORDER RESCINDED.

Two campaigns had reduced the smiling plains of Attica to a desert, and in the ensuing spring Archidamus laid siege to the heroic little town of Plataea.<sup>1</sup> In vain the inhabitants remonstrated, and reminded him of the solemn promises made to them after the

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 429. Ol. lxxxvii. 4.

decisive battle which had been fought under the shadow of their walls. Archidamus would consent to nothing less than neutrality. This the Plateæans could not promise, from fear of the Thebans and Athenians. The latter, however, urged them to stand on the defensive, and promised their aid. The



View of Plataea

courageous little garrison, which did not amount to five hundred men, then peremptorily rejected the terms

offered, and Archidamus commenced the siege, which he carried on with consummate skill.

He first cut down the trees in the neighbourhood, and invested the place with a strong stockade, and then constructed an earthwork, in the form of an inclined plane, against the wall, in order to storm the town. The garrison attempted to counteract these operations by undermining the earthwork and removing the materials from beneath almost as fast as they were heaped upon it, and by raising upon their wall, opposite to the enemy's works, a wooden frame, filled up with bricks, and faced with hides. Lastly, they erected a concave crescent-shaped wall, extending on each side beyond the inclined plane; so that in case the city wall was taken, a second might impede, and even enfilade, the storming party. So resolute and so well conducted was their defence, that Archidamus, after three months' hard work, was compelled to turn the siege into a blockade. He drew a double line of circumvallation round the town, flanked by a ditch on each side. The space between the lines was roofed in so as to form a sort of barrack for the besieging force, and on the platform thus formed towers were erected at intervals as guard-houses for the sentinels. The place remained thus closely invested for two years.

Two decisive naval engagements were fought this year in the Corinthian Gulf. In the first Phormio, the Athenian admiral, with a small fleet of twenty sail, gained a victory over forty-seven Lacedæmonian ships, under the command of Cnemus, which were on their way to attack Acarnania. His second exploit

was more brilliant still. With the same small force he boldly attacked another Lacedæmonian fleet, which amounted to seventy-seven sail, and compelled it to retreat in disorder to Corinth. The defeated combatants then entertained the idea of attacking by surprise the Athenian port of Piræus. Marching overland from Corinth to Nisæa, they there embarked, but they seem to have thought the design too hazardous, and therefore changing their plan, they attacked and did great damage to the island of Salamis, before the surprised Athenians could come up to the rescue.

Sitalces, the king of the Odrysæ, paid great court to the Athenians, and even induced them to confer the freedom of their city upon his son Sadocus. He was lavish in his promises of friendship, and undertook to re-conquer the revolted Chalcidian towns, and even to depose Perdiccas, and give the kingdom of Macedonia to his brother Philip. In order to carry into effect these ambitious schemes, he assembled a numerous but ill-disciplined army of a hundred and fifty thousand men. With these he invaded Macedonia, and succeeded for a month in driving the inhabitants from the open country into the fortified places, but the winter set in with such severity that he was compelled to return to Thrace.

This year the Athenians experienced a great calamity in the untimely death of Pericles, who fell a victim to the plague. His useful and glorious life closed in sorrow and affliction. He had already suffered from the ingratitude of his fickle countrymen. Provoked by their losses, and still more exasperated

by the plague, the violence of which was augmented by the crowded state of the city, they were inclined to attribute to his unwelcome policy all the miseries of the war. His enemies, headed by the unscrupulous demagogue Cleon, accused him of malversation. He made a fearless and noble defence, but intrigue and prejudice prevailed, and he was deposed, and sentenced to pay a considerable fine. This cloud passed away. The tide of public feeling turned; Athens repented of her injustice, and re-appointed him general. During the few short months that his life was spared, the confidence which his countrymen reposed in him was unbounded, but the sorrows of private life succeeded to the anxieties of political persecution. The pestilence carried off his dearest friends and relatives, and deprived him of both his sons. The bereaved father was soon himself plague-stricken; fever ensued, and whilst the friends who surrounded his death-bed were celebrating his fame and his glory, his only boast was that his conscience acquitted him of all guilt imputed to him by his enemies, because he had never caused an Athenian citizen to put on mourning.

The loss of this truly great man was indeed irreparable. His commanding intellect, his profound wisdom, his political honesty, gave him an influence which, though it failed for one short moment, was in the end irresistible. His eloquence, by its gracefulness, delighted his hearers, by its pathos enlisted their sympathies, and by its argumentative powers convinced their reason. He knew how to convince and persuade. He perfectly understood the difference between liberty and lawlessness, which,

after his time, in the unbridled freedom of democracy, was too often forgotten by subsequent popular leaders. His known benevolence, his patriotic and generous affection for all, from the highest to the lowest, his unselfish devotion to the interests of his country, compensated for the reserved and haughty manners which might have rendered him unpopular with so lively and bright a nation. To these eminent qualities as a statesman he added such taste and genius, and such activity in promoting the advancement of literature and the fine arts, that his age was in these respects to Athens, what, centuries later, the age of Augustus was to Rome.



Map of Lesbos

Besides the annual invasion of Attica, the Athenians had this year to cope with a new difficulty. Mytilene, the capital of the large island of Lesbos, had become so wealthy and powerful, and its mari-



time influence had so much increased, that it had long meditated throwing off the Athenian yoke whenever a favourable opportunity presented itself. This opportunity the Mytilenæans imagined was now offered by the pressure which the ravages of pestilence and war had made upon the resources of Athens.

Although their resolution had been for some time formed, they were hurried into open rebellion somewhat prematurely, before their preparations were completed.<sup>1</sup> The Methymnæans secretly sent information to Athens of their design, and the Athenians immediately despatched forty triremes, under the command of Cleippides, to surprise Mytilene, whilst the inhabitants were engaged in celebrating a festival of Apollo outside the walls. The Mytilenæans, however, received timely notice of the movements of the enemy through a spy, and postponed the festival. They then commenced negotiations with the Athenian admiral, and at the same time sent two embassies, one to Athens to make a defence of their conduct, the other to Sparta to beg for support. The former embassy proved fruitless, as the Athenians would not listen to the delegates, but the Spartans and their allies admitted them into the Peloponnesian confederacy, and made preparations for diverting the attack of the enemy's fleet by an immediate invasion of Attica.

The Athenians exerted themselves with the utmost energy to resist these combinations. They despatched a large fleet to the Isthmus, and another to make a descent upon the coast of Laconia. These demon-

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 428. Ol. lxxxviii. 1.

strations put an end to all aggressive operations on the part of Sparta, and they were obliged to content themselves with preparing a fleet to relieve Mytilene.

In the autumn Cleippides, reinforced by Paches and one thousand hoplites, cut off, by means of a wall, the communications between the city and the rest of the island. During the continuance of the blockade a Lacedæmonian envoy, named Salæthus, managed to make his way unobserved into the town up the dry channel of a mountain torrent, and urged the inhabitants to hold out until the promised succours from Sparta should arrive. In the ensuing spring,<sup>1</sup> the long-expected fleet set sail, under the command of Alcidas, and the army at the same time made its annual incursion into Attica. The Athenian treasury, so well filled at the commencement of the war, was now nearly drained, and in order to supply the deficiency, they had recourse to a new expedient, namely, a property tax. By this direct taxation they raised the sum of two hundred talents (forty-eight thousand pounds.)

Time passed on, and still Alcidas did not arrive; provisions fell short, and it was determined to make a sortie against the besiegers. In order to be strong enough for this movement, Salæthus recommended the oligarchical party to adopt the dangerous policy of trusting their political adversaries, the *demos* or lower orders, with complete armour. The Spartan alliance had, of course, always been distateful to them, and this false step gave them power to make their voice heard, and they resolved to surrender the city to the

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 427. Ol. lxxxviii. 2.

Athenians. The governing party saw there was no time to lose, and immediately capitulated.

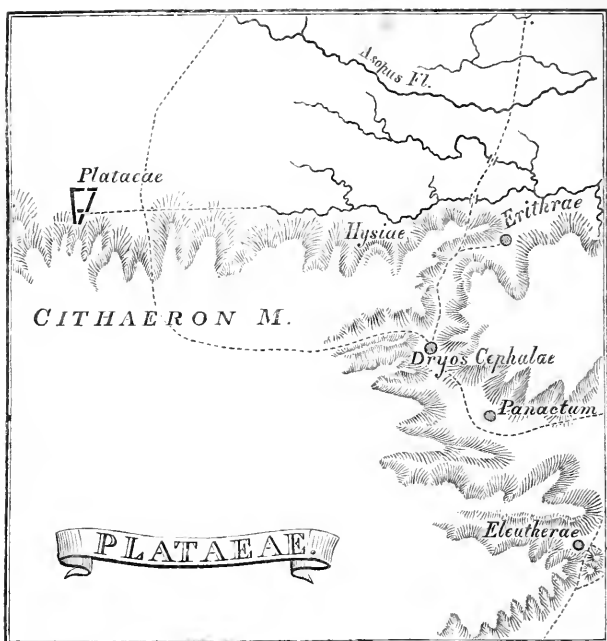
The surrender had just been made when Alcidas arrived. He therefore, seeing that he was too late, coasted along Asia Minor, and being overtaken by a storm near Crete, returned with his fleet in a shattered condition to the Peloponnese. Paches immediately gave chase, but being unable to come up with him, sailed back to Lesbos. He then proceeded to send to Athens, as prisoners of war, the ringleaders of the oligarchical party, together with Salæthus, the Lacedæmonian ambassador. The latter was immediately put to death, but an assembly was summoned to discuss the future fate of the Mytilenæan prisoners.

Since the death of Pericles a lower caste of leaders had begun to have influence in the Athenian Ecclesia. Lysicles and Eucrates, the one a dealer in tow, the other in cattle, had in turn held sway, and the favourite demagogue at this moment was Cleon, a vulgar, uneducated, low-born citizen, who, according to the comic poet Aristophanes, was by trade a tanner. He possessed the natural gift of rude but popular eloquence, and, what was of still more importance, he had a stout and burly frame, and a voice as loud as the roar of a mountain torrent. He knew how to flatter the weak points of his master, the Athenian *Demos*; he had plenty of self-possession, not to say impudence, and although the Athenians were shrewd enough to see through his character, and to be amused with it, still his abilities enabled him to maintain a powerful influence over the fickle multitude, and by frightening them with the cry "the constitution is in

danger," to mould them at his will. He was turbulent, calumnious, corrupt, unprincipled, cowardly, and as cruel as he was cowardly. The pictures of the comedian may be caricatures, and the colouring of the historian may be partial, but even if allowance is made for these suppositions, enough remains to convict him of almost all that is bad and base in man.

On this occasion he at once displayed his bad heart and his political power. The Athenian people were not naturally bloodthirsty, but their passions were easily aroused, and Cleon proposed and carried a motion that all the males in Mytilene of military age should be put to death, and all the women and children sold into slavery. He allowed no time to be lost in carrying the decree into effect, and a trireme was immediately despatched to convey the savage order. Scarcely had the trireme sailed, when the tide of feeling turned, and the people repented of their wanton cruelty. Another assembly was summoned, although this was contrary to law, but the universal sense of injustice was stronger than the fear of illegality. Cleon, in violent and menacing language, persisted in defending his bloodthirsty proposition, but Diodorus, another orator, wisely treating the meeting as a deliberative, not as a judicial assembly, calmly argued the question on the grounds of expediency, not of justice, and convinced the people that the best policy was to spare the people, who were evidently rather against than in favour of the revolt, and to bring the oligarchical prisoners to trial. Diodorus carried his point, and another ship was sent without delay, as the bearer of a reprieve.

The former vessel made no haste, conscious that it went on an ungracious errand. The crew of the latter, on the contrary, eager in the work of humanity, and being promised great rewards if they arrived in time, exerted themselves to the utmost. They allowed themselves no rest, and by rowing day and night arrived just in time to save the poor Mytilenæans, although Paches had already received the order. The prisoners, however, who had been sent to Athens, to the number of about one thousand, were massacred, the walls of Mytilene were razed to the ground, and the fleet surrendered. The whole island, with the exception of the territory of the Methymnæans, who had given the Athenians information of the rebellion, was divided into three thousand allotments; a tithe was consecrated to the gods, and the remainder distributed amongst Athenian citizens (*cleruchi*). The allottees did not inherit or cultivate their estates themselves, but let them to the Lesbians at a rent of two minæ (8*l.*) per annum for each portion.



## CHAPTER XVI.

ESCAPE OF THE PLATAEANS—CAPITULATION OF THE GARRISON—CRUEL TREATMENT OF THEM BY THE SPARTANS—CORCYREAN REVOLUTION—NAVAL ACTION—TRIUMPH OF POPULAR PARTY—ATROCIOUS MASSACRE—THIS EXAMPLE FOLLOWED THROUGHOUT GREECE—SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION—PLAGUE AGAIN BREAKS OUT AT ATHENS—OPERATIONS IN NORTHERN AND WESTERN GREECE—PURIFICATION OF DELOS—OCCUPATION OF PYLOS—THE SPARTANS OCCUPY SPHACTERIA—NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE—OPPOSITION OF CLEON—HIS ARROGANT OFFER ACCEPTED—ACCIDENT FAVOURS HIM—HE IS SUCCESSFUL—REDUCTION OF CYTHERA.

THE gallant remnant of the little Plataean garrison, now almost without the means of subsistence, resolved

upon attempting to make their escape: two hundred and twelve men, forming about half the garrison, dared to engage in the hazardous enterprise. On a wet and windy night in the depth of winter they marched out with scaling ladders, the length of which had been accurately calculated by counting the rows of bricks in the enemy's walls. With these they ascended the walls in small parties between two of the guardhouses, and put the sentries to the sword. Up to this point they had been successful, when one of the party accidentally kicked down a tile. This alarmed the guard, but in the darkness they could do little, and all the adventurous warriors succeeded in their design, except one who was taken prisoner, and a very few who in despair gave up the attempt. When the fugitives found themselves in safety, they turned out of the straight road, and thus misleading their enemies, by a bye-path reached Athens. Those who returned to Plataea could not imagine that their friends had been successful, and taking it for granted that they had all perished, sent a herald to demand back their dead bodies.<sup>1</sup>

The besieged now began to experience all the horrors of famine, and there is no doubt that the Lacedæmonians might have carried the place, but they preferred that the town should capitulate, and therefore proposed to the garrison to surrender. They assented, on condition that they should be fairly put upon their trial, and that none but the guilty should be punished. If the Athenians were just saved from an act of pitiless cruelty in the case of the Mytilenæans,

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 427. Ol. lxxxviii. 2.

it was not so with the Spartans on this occasion. Five commissioners were sent from Sparta, but the only question put to the Plataeans, was whether they had done the Spartans any service in the present war. There was but one answer to this question; but they pleaded their cause with all the earnestness of honest innocence. In vain they urged their former devotion to the liberties of Greece; in vain they appealed to the tombs of Spartan warriors buried in Plataean soil, and reminded their cruel foes that the Thebans, to whose animosity they were about to sacrifice them, were at that time traitors. The Thebans, fearing that the Spartans might be persuaded to yield, asked permission to reply. They artfully asserted that their resistance to the Persians was due to their devotion to Athens, and not to a patriotic affection for Greece, and that they were the worst of traitors in aiding and abetting Athens in her ambitious attacks upon Greek liberty. "Punish, then," they concluded, "these traitors, as they deserve, and teach them that fair words can never supply the place of honest deeds." The Spartans were convinced, and massacred two hundred Plataeans and twenty-five Athenians in cold blood, sold the women and children as slaves, and gave up the city to the Thebans, who afterwards razed it to the ground.

This year an awful example occurred in Coreyra, of that factious strife and relentless party-spirit which was the bane of all Greek states. The Corinthians had set at liberty the Coreyrean prisoners whom they had taken at Epidamnus, on condition that they would induce Coreyra to withdraw from the Athenian



alliance. On their return home they were joined by the aristocracy, and assassinated Pithias, the leader of the democratic party, together with sixty of his friends, in the senate-house. This step they followed up by forcing the people to declare a strict neutrality.



Supported by the arrival of envoys from Sparta, they openly attacked the commons. The nobles took possession of the market-place and port, whilst the commons fled to the citadel and the upper parts of the city. Eventually the commons were victorious, but the nobles set fire to the town, which was only saved from complete destruction by the wind carrying the flames in a contrary direction.

On the following day twelve Athenian vessels arrived, under the command of Nicostratus, who almost

succeeded in reconciling the two parties ; but mutual distrust arose, and four hundred of the nobles fled for sanctuary to the temple of Herè (*Juno*), and were thence transferred, under promise of safety, to a small island immediately opposite. Alcidas had by this time refitted his shattered fleet, and arrived at Coreyra; an action was fought, in which he had the advantage, but he was afraid to follow it up, and, being alarmed by the report of the approach of Eurymedon with a numerous Athenian fleet, he sailed away to the Peloponnese.

The popular party in Coreyra was now triumphant. During seven days they massacred their adversaries with circumstances of unprecedented atrocity. Private vengeance gratified itself by denouncing its foe on public grounds. Debtors assassinated their creditors in order to free themselves from their liabilities; near relations sacrificed each other to the bitterness of their mutual animosities; even fathers put their own sons to death, and the very temples were profaned by sacrilegious murders. The Athenian admiral coldly witnessed these atrocities without any interference, and so wholesale was the slaughter that only five hundred of the nobles escaped, and took up a strong position on Mount Istonè in the neighbourhood.

The last act of this bloody tragedy was performed two years afterwards, when the Athenian generals, Eurymedon and Sophocles, attacked their position, and they surrendered on condition of being fairly tried. But the artful commons tempted them to break the terms of the surrender by trying to escape, and then seizing them in the very attempt, imprisoned

them. Twenty at a time they were led out between two files of soldiers to be hacked to pieces; sixty had already been thus massacred, when the rest refused to come out. Their pitiless foes then unroofed their prison-house, and despatched most of them with arrows, the small remnant in their despair died by their own hands.

These awful scenes of political hatred, which were re-enacted at Rome in the proscriptions of Sulla and the Triumvirs, and at Paris in the Reign of Terror, set an example which was not only followed but surpassed in the other states of Greece. To this extension of political demoralization testimony is borne by the historian Thucydides. Almost every state in its turn, he tells us, experienced a similar revolution, and so little horror did such scenes excite that an Athenian general and his army could stand by and witness them in cold blood, when a word on their part would probably have put a stop to them.

The social disorganization which ensued in Greece was the result of the deadliest of all conflicts, that of race, and class, and political faction. It not only shook to their centres religion and morality, but swallowed up all the ties of nature and affection in the artificial bonds of party-spirit. Even the general acceptance of terms underwent a change; rashness was termed bravery, caution cowardice, and prudence a mere veil for unmanliness. So important are words, and so correct a picture does language present of the moral condition of society.

In the winter of this eventful year the plague, after a partial cessation, again broke out at Athens with

renewed violence. During its continuance it had carried off four thousand seven hundred citizens of the three higher classes, and of the lower orders a number which defied calculation.

The sixth year of the war<sup>1</sup> was ushered in by earthquakes and inundations, which prevented the invading Peloponnesian army from advancing further than the Isthmus. The Athenians had even in the previous autumn, contrary to the advice of Pericles, meddled with the affairs of Sicily, on the pretence of supporting the Ionian against the Dorian States. The Dorian city of Syracuse was at war with the Ionian state of Leontium. All the Doric states except Camarina took part with Syracuse; whilst Camarina and Rhegium and the coast of Italy joined Leontium.



ΑΘΕΝΑΙΩΝ

Gorgias, a celebrated orator, was sent from Leontium as ambassador to Athens, and his persuasion, seconded by their own ambitious views, induced the Athenians to send twenty triremes to aid the Leontines.

The only progress, however, worth mentioning which they made was to induce Messana to join their confederacy. Meanwhile they continued their hostile operations on the coast of the Peloponnese, and in northern and western Greece. Nicias and Eurymedon fought a successful battle at Tanagra, in Bœotia; and Demosthenes, aided by the Acarnanians, defeated the Ambraciots, assisted by a Peloponnesian contingent of three thousand hoplites. This defeat was the result of

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 426. Ol. lxxxviii. 3.

two engagements: in the first, Eurylochus, the Spartan commander, fell; and in the second, the loss of the Ambraciots was so severe that a herald, who came to demand the corpses of the slain for burial, was so shocked at their unexpected number that he took his departure, and left them on the field.

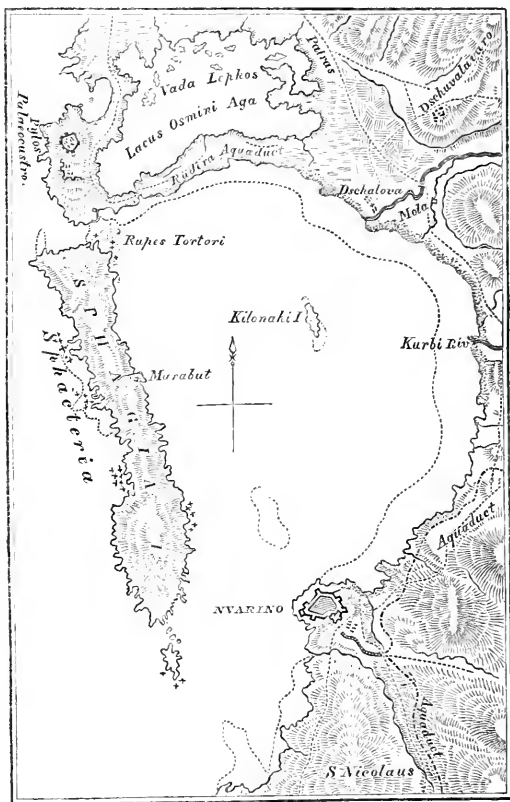
The year concluded with a solemn purification of the island of Delos, because the plague, like all other pestilences, was attributed to the wrath of the patron deity of the island, Apollo. All dead bodies which had been buried there were removed; and a festival which had fallen into abeyance was revived with great splendour, in order to propitiate the offended deity.

In the seventh year of the war<sup>1</sup> the Athenians despatched a reinforcement of forty ships to Sicily, under the command of Eurymedon and Sophocles, with orders to touch (as has already been related) at Coreyra, for the purpose of giving support to the popular party. Demosthenes was also permitted to sail with this fleet, and to use it in case he saw an opportunity of making a descent upon the coasts of the Peloponnese.

When he arrived at the bay of the modern Navarino he thought it would be advantageous to fortify Pylos, which was situated upon it, and place there some of the exiled Messenians, and thus annoy the Lacedæmonians. Eurymedon and Sophocles at first declined to land, but a violent storm drove the fleet into the port. The soldiers and sailors having no employment, began to amuse themselves by building a rude

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 425. Ol. lxxxviii. 4.

fortification, and having neither hods for mortar nor tools for hewing stone, they carried the cement upon



Map of Navarino.

their backs, with their hands clasped behind them, and selected the stones which best fitted together.

In a few days the wall was sufficiently advanced, and Eurymedon and Sophocles then proceeded on their voyage, leaving with their colleague five ships and two hundred heavy-armed infantry.

The Spartans, although angry, were at first inclined to treat the matter with contempt, but at length the idea of a hostile garrison established in their own territory alarmed them, and they recalled Agis and his army from Attica, which they had invaded as usual. The fleet also, under Thrasymelidas, was summoned from Coreyra, and on its arrival four hundred and twenty Spartans, with their attendant helots, occupied the woody island of Sphacteria (*Sphagia*), which stretched almost across the entrance of the bay from Pylos, on the northern, to the modern Navarino on the southern headland.

The fleet was stationed in the bay, but, in their ignorance of naval tactics, the Spartans neglected to guard the narrow entrances into it. They attempted in vain to effect a landing, and the brave Brasidas, who led the assault, was severely wounded. Meanwhile, Eurymedon, to whom Demosthenes had sent for succour, arrived, and found no obstacle to prevent him from sailing into the bay. A desperate battle was fought, in which the Athenians were victorious, and Sphacteria was blockaded. Some of those in it were members of the noblest families, and so sad was the misfortune considered that the Ephors hastened to the scene of action and proposed a truce, in order that delegates might be sent to Athens to negotiate peace. All they asked was, that permission should be accorded to the Spartans in Sphacteria to depart in safety, but

Cleon would not allow the Ecclesia to listen to such conditions, and actually demanded the surrender of the besieged, and the restoration of the Megarian ports of Nisæa and Pegæ, together with other places, which Athens had given up to Sparta at the commencement of the thirty years' truce.

The delegates were accordingly dismissed, and when they returned, Enrymedon, on some false pretence, refused to restore the Lacedæmonian fleet, which had been delivered up to him during the armistice. The blockade of Sphacteria still continued, and was the more protracted because provisions were secretly smuggled into it, partly by divers and partly by Helots, who on dark nights ran their cargoes at the back of the island. The Athenians began to be disappointed at the delay, and found fault with Cleon for rejecting an offer of peace on such favourable terms. He in his turn audaciously threw the blame upon the admirals. He made a personal attack on the gentle and modest Nicias—a general deficient, perhaps, in energy, but of unimpeachable honour—and arrogantly declared that if the command were entrusted to himself he would take the place within twenty days, and either put all in it to the sword, or bring them as prisoners of war to Athens. The people were highly amused at his blustering, and thought it would be a good joke to take him at his word. They knew that they were sure of one of two good things, namely, either to take Sphacteria or to rid themselves of Cleon. Nicias, too, pressed upon him the offer of whatever force he thought necessary for success. Cleon finding that he had gone too far tried to back out, but the more



he declined the honour the more the Ecclesia insisted on his taking the command. When, therefore, he could no longer avoid it he assented, and sailed with a small reinforcement of allied and mercenary troops.

Although he was himself commander-in-chief of the expedition, and, therefore, all the credit of success would be his, he artfully took care that the able Demosthenes should be his second in command. He was just preparing to assault the island, and, therefore, Cleon came at the very moment to seize the prize which the other was on the point of winning. In the words which Aristophanes puts into the mouth of Demosthenes,—

“It was but t’other day these hands had mix’d  
A Spartan pudding for him there at Pylus ;  
Slily and craftily the knave stole on me,  
Ravish’d the feast, and to my master bore it.”

*The Knights* (MITCHELL).

Accident crowned his expedition with success. Demosthenes had delayed his attack principally because his campaign in Ætolia had taught him the perils of such an enterprise ; but just before Cleon’s arrival a fire accidentally broke out, which laid bare the island, and deprived the Spartans of covert and concealment. After all, it was no great triumph. The Athenian force amounted to ten thousand, and even this overwhelming number found it a hard matter to beat four hundred and twenty gallant Spartans. They contested the ground inch by inch. The ashes of the burnt wood blinded them, the missiles of the enemy caused them much loss,

whilst they themselves could not injure their assailants. Even when driven back to a little guard-house, they still kept the enemy at bay, until unexpectedly attacked in the rear. Many were slain, but, true to Spartan honour, the little band would not yield until they received authority from their countrymen who were encamped on the opposite coast. All that survived, two hundred in number, then yielded on honourable terms, and Cleon conveyed them to Athens within the twenty days.

As many of the prisoners were members of noble Spartan families, they were very important hostages in case the Peloponnesians should again invade Attica, and the fortifying and garrisoning of Pylos was a great annoyance to the whole of Laconia and Messenia. The Spartans sorely felt these results, and earnestly sued for peace; but the Athenians were too sensible of the advantages they had gained to listen to their proposals, and the ensuing spring,<sup>1</sup> the Athenians followed up their successes by the reduction and occupation of the island of Cythera (*Cerigo*), situated off the southern headland of Laconia. This unexpected misfortune caused such a panic at Sparta, that it was visible in the feebleness of their operations. The Athenians made frequent descents upon their coasts, and even took Thyrea, and massacred their old rivals, the Æginetans, to whom it had been assigned as a settlement by the Spartans.

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 424. Ol. lxxxix. 1.

## CHAPTER XVII.

CONGRESS OF THE SICELIOTS AT GELA—REVOLUTION AT MEGARA—BRASIDAS ADMITTED, AND AN OLIGARCHY ESTABLISHED—OPERATIONS OF THE ATHENIANS IN BÆOTIA—BATTLE AND SIEGE OF DELIUM—MARCH OF BRASIDAS TO THRACE—THE HISTORIAN THUCYDIDES—HIS IMPEACHMENT AND EXILE—TRUCE FOR ONE YEAR—TREACHERY OF PERDICCAS—CLEON SAILS TO THRACE—BRASIDAS DIES IN THE MOMENT OF VICTORY—DEATH OF CLEON—BOTH SIDES ANXIOUS FOR PEACE—PEACE OF NICIAS—OBSTACLES TO ITS PERMANENCE—INTRIGUES IN THE PELOPONNESE—ALCIBIADES—HIS CHARACTER—ALLIANCE BETWEEN ATHENS AND ARGOS—BATTLE AT MANTINEA—SAVAGE TREATMENT OF THE MELIANS.

THE career of Athens was no longer so successful as it had hitherto been; and the first check which they met with was in Sicily. A congress of the Siceliots, or Sicilian Greek colonists, was assembled at Gela for the purpose of effecting a universal reconciliation. Hermocrates, a man of good sense and great influence, was the Syracusan representative. He ably and successfully recommended a general peace; and the Athenians, seeing that their services were no longer required by their Leontine allies, quitted Sicily and sailed home. Their countrymen, disappointed in their ambitious projects, wreaked their vengeance on the unfortunate generals. They brought against them a charge of bribery and corruption, exiled Pythodorus and Sophocles, and inflicted a fine upon Eurymedon.

One of those revolutions of which mention has been already made, originating in the implacable enmities between the Ionian democratical party and the Dorian aristocracy, now broke out in Megara.



Rare Medallion of Syracuse. Time supposed to be the time of Gelo I.

The Megarians were of Dorian race, and the Athenians had subjected their commerce to the severest restrictions. Everything Megarian was contraband; they were almost driven to starvation by edicts, and were prohibited from entering Athenian territory, on pain of death.

“That land nor market-place (so went their tenor)  
Be open to the citizens of Megara;  
That their feet find no resting-place, on sea  
Or *terra firma*.”—*Arist. Acharn.* (MITCHELL.)

The scandal of Athenian gossips attributed these decrees to the spite of Pericles, because some Megarians had carried off two of Aspasia's waiting-maids. However, the ties of blood and the hatred of Athens attached Megara to Sparta; but, on this occasion, some exiles of the aristocratic party annoyed the city

by predatory incursions ; and the democratic leaders, alarmed for their safety, intrigued with Athens, and offered to give them possession of the city and of the long walls which, like those of Athens, united the city to its harbour. Accordingly the long walls were delivered up, and the Athenians attacked and took the port of Nisæa, but the timely discovery of the intrigue saved Megara itself.

It happened at this time that Brasidas was in the neighbourhood, on his march to Thrace, in order to attack the towns which belonged to the Athenian confederacy. Seeing the state of things, he called upon the Megarians to admit him into their city. They, however, preferred waiting until they saw whether he or the Athenians were the strongest. When Brasidas was aware of this, he offered the Athenians battle, but as they were inferior in numbers they refused. This result determined the Megarians to admit Brasidas. The leaders of the democratic party fled to Athens, the exiles were recalled, and although they swore to observe an amnesty, they put to death one hundred of their political adversaries, and established an oligarchical form of government.

Immediately after this event Demosthenes sailed to Naupactus. Application had been made to Athens for help by a democratic party in Bœotia, who wished to overthrow the oligarchical constitution of the Bœotian confederacy. It was arranged that Demosthenes should invade Bœotia on the side of Phocis, and that on the same day Hippocrates, with a powerful army, should pass the eastern frontier, and seize

the strong fort of Delium, near Tanagra. The plan, however, was betrayed by a Phocian; and when Demosthenes began his attempt by attacking Siphæ, he found himself opposed by too large a force for him to cope with; for Hippocrates, also, had been too late, and had not divided the Bœotian forces. Still he came at the head of the whole available population of Athens—citizens, metics, and foreigners—fortified and garrisoned Delium, and then began his return homewards. He had reached the mountain frontier, when he was met by the whole Bœotian army under the command of Pagondas. The heavy armed infantry on both sides were equal, amounting to seven thousand. The Bœotians were superior in cavalry. The Athenians mustered more than twice as many light armed troops as the enemy. The former, according to custom, were drawn up in files of eight, while the latter formed a compact phalanx, with files of twenty-five.

The battle was desperate and bloody, and the brunt of it was borne by the hoplites; but the momentum of the Bœotian phalanx was irresistible, and a charge of the Bœotian cavalry in flank decided the fortune of the day. The Athenians were utterly routed, and Hippocrates was slain. It is said that Socrates distinguished himself by his gallant behaviour in this disastrous battle, and saved the life of Xenophon by himself bearing him on his shoulders from the field. On the morrow, the Athenians asked permission to bury their dead, but as Delium was a temple of Apollo, the permission was refused on the ground of sacrilege.

The Bœotians then laid siege to the place, and took it in seventeen days. The plan they pursued was as follows. The works of the Athenians were partly constructed of timber, and the assailants directed against these a long wooden tube, to the end of which was attached a grate filled with live coals, sulphur, and pitch, and a blast of air was conveyed through the pipe into the grate by means of bellows. Thus the works were set on fire, and the garrison, unable to stand the flames, fled to the ships; two hundred prisoners, however, were taken.

The misfortunes of the Athenians in Bœotia were paralleled by the events which took place simultaneously in Thrace. Brasidas, at the head of an inconsiderable force, by the invitation of the inconstant Perdiccas, boldly and rapidly marched through Thesaly, although the masses of the people were inclined to the Athenian interests. In vain the Athenians kept a stricter guard upon their northern dependencies; the ability and liberality, the courage and honesty of Brasidas conciliated the regard of their allies. He guaranteed to the Acanthians their independence, and they immediately revolted from Athens; the Stagirites followed their example. So energetic were his movements, that by the commencement of winter he was before the Athenian colony of Amphipolis, and had taken possession of the whole country bordering on the Strymon.

The historian of the Peloponnesian War, Thucydides, happened to be off the coast with a squadron of seven ships, and, at the request of the Amphipolitans, hastened to the relief of the city. He saved

Eion, which was at the mouth of the river, but he was too late to save Amphipolis. When he arrived it had already surrendered, tempted by the proposals of the Lacedæmonian general. Although he was not to blame for his ill success, he was impeached and condemned on the motion of Cleon, and only escaped capital punishment by exile. To the twenty years thus spent in retirement from the active duties of life we owe one of the noblest and most philosophical histories which the world ever saw. After the capitulation of Amphipolis, that of the towns in Chalcidice surrendered; and in the peninsula of Sithonia the oligarchical party betrayed Torone into the hands of Brasidas, whilst the Athenian garrison fled to the neighbouring fort of Lecythus. The accidental fall of a tower caused an alarm, and in the confusion Brasidas took it, and put the garrison to the sword.

This series of losses, together with the defeat at Delium, disposed the Athenians to think of peace. Nor were the Lacedæmonians disinclined, because they were anxious for the restoration of those who had been taken prisoners in Sphacteria. At the beginning, therefore, of the ninth year of the war, a truce was concluded for one year.<sup>1</sup> It was intended that this truce should be a prelude to a lasting peace, but the negotiations were broken off by the revolt of Scione to Brasidas. This was closely followed up by the defection of Mende, and Brasidas occupied both places with a Peloponnesian garrison. Afterwards the democratic party in the latter place recovered the ascendancy, and restored the town to the

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 423. Ol. lxxxix. 2.



Athenians. Perdicas again changed sides, and made peace with the Athenians, and persuaded the Thesalian chiefs to intercept some reinforcements which were on their way from Sparta to the army of Brasidas. The Athenians then laid siege to Scione, whither the Lacedæmonians from Mende had escaped, and by the end of the summer had completely invested it.

Spring opened, and the truce expired.<sup>1</sup> Nicias having returned to Athens, Cleon had sufficient influence over the ecclesia to get himself elected one of the strategi. A force of twelve hundred hoplites, three hundred horse, besides allies, and a fleet of three hundred triremes, were placed at his disposal, and with this armament he sailed to Thrace. In the absence of Brasidas, he besieged and took Torone, and then marched for Amphipolis.

Brasidas heard of his movements, and, hastening to the protection of the town, first encamped upon the neighbouring heights of Cerdylum, and afterwards, when Cleon approached, entered Amphipolis itself. Scarcely had Cleon halted, when the Lacedæmonian general surprised the Athenians with so sudden a sortie that they were thrown into confusion and completely defeated. Brasidas was mortally wounded, and being borne into the town, only lived long enough to hear that he had gained the victory. The coward Cleon fled from the field, but did not escape the death he deserved. The Amphipolitans honoured Brasidas with a public funeral, destroyed all memorials of Athenian sway, and proclaiming him as the

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 422. Ol. lxxxix. 3.

real founder, instituted annual games and sacrifices at his tomb, as if it were a hero's shrine.

Brasidas and Cleon, although their characters were totally opposite, had been the great leaders of the war-parties in their respective states; the former because of his daring courage and martial spirit, the latter because he could only be great in times of trouble and agitation. Now that death had removed them both, Nicias, at Athens, and King Pleistoanax, at Sparta, were able to exert their influence to promote peace. Nicias wished for peace, for fear of risking the reputation which he enjoyed of having been a successful general in all his campaigns; and Pleistoanax, because his enemies laid to his charge every failure which befel their arms as a judgment upon them for recalling him when he had been exiled on a charge of bribery.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, other circumstances combined to make the Spartans anxious for peace. They apprehended an insurrection of the Helots, and their thirty years' truce with Argos was on the point of expiring. Early in the ensuing year,<sup>2</sup> therefore, a peace was concluded, which is commonly called the "Peace of Nicias," and this was followed by an alliance offensive and defensive, for the same period, between Athens and Lacedæmon. All places and persons taken in the course of the war were to be restored, and neutral states were to retain their independence. To this truce the subordinate states, generally speaking, assented; although some of the allies of Sparta did so reluctantly. The Boeotians, Corinthians, Eleans,

<sup>1</sup> See chap. xii. p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> B. c. 421. Ol. lxxxix. 4.

and Megarians, were powerful enough to be firm, and accordingly absolutely refused their consent.

Obstacles, however, arose in the way of a permanent peace; partly from unavoidable circumstances, partly from the disinclination of both Athens and Sparta to comply with the conditions of the treaty. The Spartans pleaded the opposition of the Amphipolitans as an excuse for not surrendering the town, and the Corinthians instigated Argos to place herself at the head of a new Peloponnesian league in opposition to Sparta. The Mantineans were the first to join this confederacy. In vain the Spartans remonstrated with the Corinthians on their faithlessness; they, the Eleans, and the Chalcidians in Thrace, followed the example of Mantinea. The Bœotians and Megarians still continued staunch to Sparta; and when the Tegeans also refused to join in the revolt, the confidence of the Corinthians appears to have been somewhat shaken. The following were the measures which the Spartans took in this emergency: they annoyed the Mantineans by supporting some of their allies in Arcadia who had deserted them—secured the attachment of the Helots who had belonged to the army of Brasidas, by emancipating them—and cruelly disfranchised the poor prisoners of Sphacteria, because they feared that, as they were looked upon with coldness for having laid down their arms, they might be tempted to excite political disturbances.

The mutual distrust and jealousy between Athens



Corinthian Coin.

and Sparta still gained strength, and new Ephors having come into office, who were of the anti-Athenian party, brought about an alliance with the Bœotians. This alarmed the Argives, and, at their own request, the preliminaries were settled for concluding a peace between them and Sparta.

A new rival of the peace-loving Nicias, and a for-



Alcibiades.

midable leader of the war-party, had now risen up at Athens. This was the celebrated Alcibiades, the son of Clinias, the disciple of Socrates, and the ward of Pericles. He possessed all the qualifications calculated to sway the Athenian assembly. He was young,

handsome, rich, and well born ; and no people were more influenced than the Athenians by the fascinations of youth and beauty, the admiration for magnificence and generosity, and (notwithstanding their democratic prejudices) the claims of an unblemished descent, and an heroic ancestry. His brilliant natural talents were improved by a good education ; he was a polished speaker, although his eloquence was not of the first order. By the dazzling qualities with which he shone, the eyes of his countrymen were blinded to his extravagant vices ; for he was ambitious, violent, profligate, and without either political or moral principle ; and for his strong and resolute will, and bitter opposition to peace with Sparta, Athens forgave him his foppish affectation, and the aristocratic bias of his opinions.

It was, however, private pique which led him to pursue a course so opposite to his political sentiments. His ancestors had been on terms of mutual hospitality with Sparta, and this connexion had been broken off by his grandfather. Anxious to renew it, he had sought the favour of Sparta by showing great attention to the prisoners from Sphacteria when at Athens. He had proffered his aid in promoting peace, but the grave Spartans spurned the help of a frothy and insolent young man. Alcibiades writhed under this affront, and became their most determined foe. He did all he could to bring about a treaty with Argos ; and when Sparta sent envoys to negotiate for the restitution of Pylos, he first craftily deceived, and then publicly insulted them. On his motion, the Argive ambassadors were then called in, the waning

influence of Nicias was powerless against his popularity, and an alliance with Argos, Elis, and Mantinea was concluded for the long period of one hundred years.<sup>1</sup> The Corinthians, however, withdrew from the league, and again inclined to join the Spartans.

The ensuing spring<sup>2</sup> saw Alcibiades one of the Athenian *Strategi*. At the preceding Olympic festival his splendid display had tended much to the credit of his country, and he had won the first and second prizes in the chariot race. Such a triumph doubtless contributed much to the success of his ambitious views, and, at the head of a small force, he entered the Peloponnese to cooperate with the Argives. He afforded them aid in invading the territory of Epidaurus, which they laid waste on the pretext that the Epidaurians had omitted to make some customary offering at the temple of Apollo Pythæus, near the citadel of Argos. The Carnean festival for a time prevented the Lacedæmonians from assisting the Epidaurians; but in the winter they contrived, unperceived, to throw three hundred men into Epidaurus. The Athenians, in retaliation, again garrisoned Pylus with Messenians and Helots, and at the suggestion of Alcibiades inscribed on the column on which the treaty had been engraved—"The Lacedæmonians have not kept their oaths."

A desultory warfare was carried on during the remainder of this year, but about midsummer in the next<sup>3</sup> the Lacedæmonians and their allies entered the Argive territory in three divisions, under the com-

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 420. Ol. xc. 1.

<sup>2</sup> B.C. 419. Ol. xc. 2.

<sup>3</sup> B.C. 418. Ol. xc. 3.

mand of Agis. He cut off the communication between the army and the capital, and Argos would most probably have fallen had not two private citizens taken



Argos and Neighbourhood.

upon themselves the responsibility of negotiating with the Spartan king. They induced him to retreat, and to conclude a truce for four months. So offended were the Lacedæmonians at this, that they threatened to fine him heavily, and to raze his house to the ground. They did not, however, carry their threats into execution, but appointed ten commissioners as a council of war, without whose sanction he was permitted to do nothing.

The arrival of an Athenian army, and the persuasions of Alcibiades, who attended it in the character of an envoy, induced the Argives to renounce the

truce. The allied force then took Orchomenus in Arcadia, and thence proceeded to attack Tegea. The Lacedæmonians marched to the rescue, and a battle was fought in the plain of Mantinea. The victory of the Lacedæmonians was complete and decisive, but the loss was not so great as might have been expected, because the Spartans never pursued a flying enemy. This was one of the most important battles in this war, and did much to restore the prestige of the Lacedæmonian arms.

Not only was the power of Argos diminished by this loss, but the oligarchical faction acquired such strength, that the Athenian alliance was renounced, and a treaty made with Sparta for fifty years, the leaders of the popular party were put to death, and the government remodelled after an oligarchical form. This state of things did not last long. A counter-revolution followed in the next year, democracy was reestablished, the alliance with Athens renewed, and, in order to secure undisturbed communication with their maritime ally, long walls were commenced from Argos to the sea. They were not, however, destined to be completed, for the Lacedæmonians attacked the works, and destroyed them, and the following summer<sup>1</sup> Alcibiades sailed to Argos with twenty ships, and finally crushed the aristocratic party, by seizing three hundred of them, and placing them in dépôt in some of the small islands off the coast.

Liberal as the Athenians were in their political principles, they were tyrants in their dealings with the inferior states of Greece, and could not brook

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 416. Ol. xci. 1.



independence or neutrality. The inhabitants of the little island of Melos, in the *Ægean* Sea, had never yet acknowledged the Athenian supremacy. They were Dorians, but they had never provoked the hostility of the natural enemies of their race by opposition, for they had kept aloof from the strifes and quarrels which had rent Greece asunder. By this neutrality they had hitherto maintained their independence, but now the Athenians determined to enforce that submission to which the Melians would not assent of their own free will. They despatched a powerful force on board of thirty-eight *tiremes*, and besieged the island by sea and land. Stoutly the brave islanders resisted their invaders ; for months their town was blockaded, but at length, when they found that there was no hope, they surrendered at discretion.

If the attack upon Melian independence on the part of the Athenians was unjustifiable, the merciless manner in which they followed up their victory was still more atrocious. Never was there a fouler blot upon their character than this act of wanton cruelty. All the men were slaughtered in cold blood, the women and children were condemned to slavery, and the island was divided in lots amongst five hundred Athenian colonists. The influence of the example thus set by the Athenians extended to distant ages, for in the middle of the 16th century of the Christian era Stephen Doria, the most bloodthirsty of that cruel race, pleaded the conduct of Athens towards the Melians as a precedent for laying waste Corsica with fire and sword.



Spring 1798

## CHAPTER XVIII.

DECLINE OF ATHENIAN POWER—AMBITIOUS DESIGNS OF ATHENS—"BIRDS"  
OF ARISTOPHANES—ARTFUL PROMISES OF THE EGESTEANS—VOTE OF  
THE ECCLESIA—POPULARITY OF THE SICILIAN WAR—MUTILATION OF THE  
HERME—ALCIBIADES SUSPECTED—HE DEMANDS AN INQUIRY—FALSE  
ACCUSATIONS—THE ARMAMENT SAILS—FRAUD OF THE EGESTEANS DIS-  
COVERED—COUNCIL OF WAR—RECAL AND ARREST OF ALCIBIADES—HIS  
ESCAPE—NICIAS GAINS A VICTORY—THE SYRACUSANS COMMENCE DEFEN-  
SIVE MEASURES—SIEGE OF SYRACUSE—DEATH OF LAMACHUS.

FROM this year may be dated the decline and fall of the Athenian empire. Their wise statesman Pericles had urged upon them the importance of concentrating all their energies upon the powerful Dorian combination, which threatened them with ruin near at home, and of being proof against the temptation of foreign conquest. So long as they followed his

advice it was well with them; but now they disregarded it, and immediately they began to reap the fruits of their mad ambition. For some time they had anxiously desired to extend their dominion as far as the distant island of Sicily, and they were bitterly disappointed when the peace of Hermocrates healed the dissensions between the Siceliots, upon which they had built up their principal hopes of success.

Nor was this all. The ambitious designs of Athens, encouraged by Alcibiades and others, had extended still further. In their imagination it was but a step from Sicily to the peninsula of Italy. The conquest of the former would pave the way to the subjugation of the latter. The Italian forests would furnish material for fleets more numerous than they had hitherto possessed or conceived. They intended to reinforce their armies with Iberian mercenaries, and thus extend their conquests to Carthage herself, the fame of whose commercial wealth had already reached her ports. The coasts of the Mediterranean would thus be hers by right of conquest; all communication between Sparta and her allies would be cut off, and thus her powerful rival Sparta, being shorn of great portion of her strength, there would be none left to dispute her supremacy. It has been supposed that the great Athenian comic dramatist Aristophanes, in his comedy of "The Birds," attacked with the shafts of his ridicule these ambitious day-dreams. It is not improbable that his shrewd intellect foresaw their consequences, and warned his countrymen of the folly which ended in their ruin.

The peace patched up by Hermocrates did not long

avail to calm the jealousies which disunited the little states of Sicily. Selinus and Egesta quarrelled, and the former having secured the powerful alliance of Syracuse, the latter applied for help to Athens.



*Syracusan Decadrachma.*

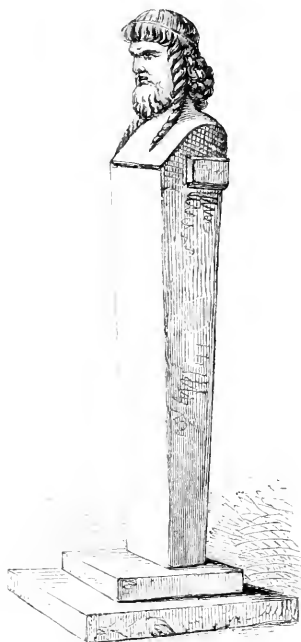
The Egestæans urged the importance of opposing the amalgamation of Dorian interests in the island, and offered, if the Athenians would assist them, to defray the expenses of the war. Lamachus, the leader of the war party at Athens, warmly supported the Egestæan envoys. Alcibiades took the same side, for he saw in such a war an opportunity of gratifying his ambition and recruiting his wasted fortunes. The cautious Nicias was the leader of the opposition, but all he could do was to carry a motion, that delegates should be sent to see whether the Egestæans were in a condition to perform their promise. When the delegates arrived, they were sumptuously entertained at the houses of different citizens; the display of gold and silver plate was dazzling—but they were not aware that it was the same service which they saw day after day. The treasures of the temples were

also exhibited, arranged to the best advantage, and so as to make the greatest show. In addition to this apparent wealth, they carried home with them sixty talents of silver as the first instalment of the promised subsidy.

Athens was delighted with the report of her ambassadors, and the Ecclesia resolved to send an armament of sixty triremes, under the joint command of Nicias, Lamachus, and Alcibiades. The first of these did not conceal his disapprobation of the measure. He personally attacked Alcibiades, but in vain; he spoke of the enormous armament which would be necessary, and the only reply which he got from the Ecclesia was a vote which almost doubled the fleet and the army.

Never was a war so popular at Athens, or an expedition undertaken with such enthusiasm. Athens had become tired of peace, and was again rich enough to indulge in the excitements of war. All ranks did their utmost to promote the efficiency and success of the expedition, and things were all but ready, when one morning all the statues of the god Hermes which adorned the streets and public places of Athens were found mutilated. Who had done it, was a perfect mystery; it was, however, clear that so much mischief could only have been perpetrated in a single night by a large number of conspirators. The alarmed Athenians saw in this event not only a sacrilegious act, but the dim foreshadowing of that universal bugbear, the attempt at establishing a tyranny. It might have been a plot of the peace-party to put a stop to the expedition by creating a tumult, but this was not the

prevalent view, for the person upon whom suspicion ultimately fell was Alcibiades ; and this suspicion was strengthened by a direct accusation brought against



Hermes.

him, of having with his friends, in drunken frolics, been guilty of similar acts of impiety.

Alcibiades demanded an immediate investigation, but his enemies were afraid that his popularity and influence with the war party would insure his acquittal ; they therefore caused the inquiry to be

deferred until the expedition should have returned from Sicily. They thought, also, that this postponement would give them time and opportunity of creating a prejudice against him, which, together with this charge, might effect his ruin. Public informers were the bane and pest of Athens, and this seemed a fine harvest for them. The city teemed with false accusations; many innocent persons were involved in the charge, who could not possibly have been accomplices of Alcibiades, because they were his open enemies; either he or they must have been innocent. At midsummer the armament was to set sail.<sup>1</sup> The Piræus was crowded. The whole population escorted the troops to the place of embarkation; variegated pennants fluttered from the ships; the armour of the hoplites glittered in the sunshine. Every voice was hushed whilst libations were poured out to the gods from cups of gold and silver, and then the burst of a thousand voices ascended in united prayer to heaven. The fleet started like a regatta, and at a given signal raced to Ægina, and the anxious crowd lingered in the harbour, with straining eyes, until the last vessel had passed beyond the horizon.

The fleet sailed to Corecra, where it was met by the rest of the allies. It numbered one hundred and thirty-four triremes, besides lighter vessels, transports and merchantmen. From Corecra it took its departure for Italy in three divisions, each commanded by one of the generals. The inhabitants of the Italian towns refused to join them or to afford them any assistance. The Rhegians, indeed, permitted them to land and

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 415. Ol. xci. 2.

purchase stores, but would not admit them into the town. Reports of their approach preceded them to Sicily, but no one at Syracuse would believe it possible, except Hermocrates. He, more far-sighted than the rest, recommended that there should be no delay in commencing defensive preparations; but Athenagoras, the leader of the democratic party, treated the proposal with scorn, and pretended that it was all a plot for raising an army to promote the interests of the aristocracy.

The Athenians were now doomed to meet with a bitter disappointment. They had sent ahead three triremes to Egesta to give notice of their coming, and these on their return announced that they had been deceived by the supposed wealth of the Egestæans, and that all they could hope for was thirty talents more. In consequence of this discovery a council of war was held, in which each of the generals proposed and advocated a different plan. The peace-loving Nicias recommended that they should sail for Selinus, effect a reconciliation between it and Egesta, and then return to Athens. The warlike Lamachus was for attacking Syracuse without further delay, and taking it by surprise. Alcibiades proposed a middle course, namely, to strengthen their alliance amongst the Siceliot Greeks, and after that to begin offensive operations against Syracuse.

This plan was eventually adopted, probably as a compromise between the extreme views of his colleagues; for the little progress which was made in extending their alliance proved that the plan of Lamachus would have been the most likely to succeed.



The Athenians took up their head-quarters at Catana, of which they had made themselves master by surprise.

At this crisis Alcibiades was recalled to Athens to take his trial on the charge of mutilating the *Hermæ*. The excitement which had taken its rise in the superstitious character of the Athenian people—a character which, more than four centuries later, was observed by the great apostle of the Gentiles,<sup>1</sup>—was maintained by the political enemies of Alcibiades. Many of the best and noblest had been imprisoned and executed, and the orator Andocides, who was amongst the accused, basely purchased his own safety by denouncing others. His victims were put to death, but though he saved his own life, in such universal detestation was he held, that he was forced to leave Athens.

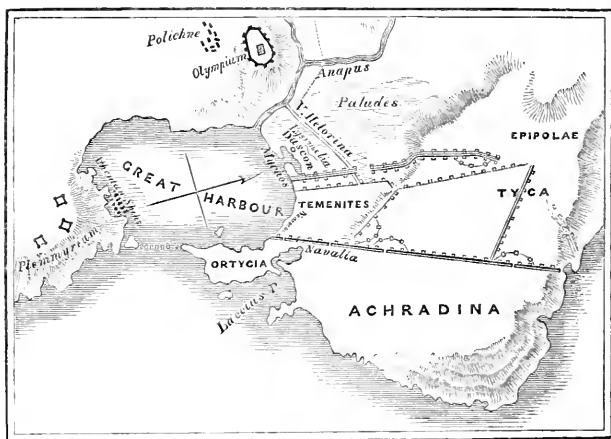
The order for the arrest of Alcibiades had been sent in the Athenian state-vessel called the "*Salaminia*," but he was permitted to sail home in his own trireme. He offered no opposition to the summons, but on the voyage he effected his escape, and was kindly welcomed by the Lacedæmonians. In his absence he was capitally condemned and his property confiscated.

Three months spent in inactivity rendered the Syracusans bold, and they even entertained the idea of attacking the Athenian encampment. It was therefore thought high time, especially as winter was approaching, to commence the siege of Syracuse. On the south-west of the city was a hill crowned

<sup>1</sup> Acts, chap. xvii. 22.

with a temple of Jupiter Olympus, and therefore called the Olympiæum. This furnished a strong position for an entrenched camp, of which Nicias took advantage.

By means of a Catanæan who was in the Athenian interest he sent false intelligence to the Syracusans, to the effect that they might rely upon help at Catana. He thus induced them to march with a large force to Catana and leave Syracuse unprotected. In their absence he sailed into the Great Harbour, and effected a landing unopposed at the mouth of the river Anapus. The Syracusans returned on the following day, and a battle was fought in which



Syracuse,

Nicias gained a great advantage, for two hundred and fifty Syracusans fell, whilst the Athenians lost only fifty men. Nicias, however, did not follow up

the victory which he had gained; he retired to Catana and thence into winter quarters at Naxos, where he waited for reinforcements from home and from his Siceliot allies. The winter was employed in making friends with the *Sicels*, or aboriginal inhabitants of the island, who had been driven into the interior and mountainous districts when the coasts were occupied by the *Siceliots* or Sicilian Greek colonists.

The Syracusans did not allow the winter to pass without vigorous preparations for defending the city. They chose Hermocrates their commander-in-chief, and built a wall from sea to sea between the town and the Athenian position: they also despatched ambassadors to Corinth and Sparta to ask for assistance. The Corinthians cheerfully undertook to help them; the Spartans were at first reluctant, but afterwards they were prevailed upon by the treacherous Alcibiades to send an army in the spring under the command of Gylippus.

As soon as the winter was over,<sup>1</sup> Nicias, having received a reinforcement of cavalry, prosecuted the siege of Syracuse with great vigour. Syracuse consisted of two separate towns. The inner or older one occupied the peninsula of Ortygia, on which the modern city of Syracuse is now situated. This formed a strong natural position, but the outer or newer town was scarcely less so, for it was built on the commanding heights of Achradina, and was besides strongly fortified. Both towns were now still further protected by the wall which has already

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 414. Ol. xci. 3.

been mentioned. The most vulnerable side was on the north-west, where the ridge of Epipolæ rose by a gradual ascent and overlooked the town. The Syracusans were of course aware of this, and marched a force to garrison the heights, but before they reached the ascent, Nicias, who had effected a landing on the north side, had already occupied them. There he erected a redoubt, and then descending on the Syracusan side he built another, called Syca or Tyca. From this as a central point he built two walls reaching to the Great Harbour, and commenced another to extend to the sea on the north, which however was never completed.

The Syracusans unsuccessfully attempted the construction of counter-works, and some severe skirmishes took place, in one of which the brave and warlike Lamachus fell.



Coin of Syracuse,

## CHAPTER XIX.

ARRIVAL OF GYLIPPUS FROM SPARTA—DESPAIR OF NICIAS—REINFORCEMENTS FROM ATHENS—THE LACEDÆMONIANS FORTIFY DECELEA—THE ATHENIANS ADOPT A SIMILAR POLICY—ENGAGEMENTS AT SYRACUSE BY SEA AND LAND—ARRIVAL OF DEMOSTHENES AND EURYMEDON—SUCCESSSES OF THE SYRACUSANS—DECISIVE NAVAL ACTION IN THE GREAT HARBOUR—COMPLETE DEFEAT OF THE ATHENIANS—THEIR RETREAT IMPRUDENTLY DELAYED—DEMOSTHENES AND AFTERWARDS NICIAS SURRENDER AT DISCRETION—FATE OF THE PRISONERS—THE SAD INTELLIGENCE ARRIVES AT ATHENS—UNFAITHFULNESS OF THE ALLIES—SPARTA MAKES A TREATY WITH PERSIA—FLIGHT OF ALCIBIADES—HIS INTRIGUES WITH THE ATHENIAN GENERALS.

THE loss of Lamachus occasioned a lamentable want of energy, and even the arrival of Gylippus did not arouse the supine Nicias from his state of inactivity. Gylippus consequently landed unopposed. The inhabitants flocked to his standard, and he actually made his way into Syracuse over the heights of Epipolæ in spite of the Athenian position. Soon the tables were turned; the besiegers became the besieged. The entrenched lines of Gylippus stretched continuously from the first Syracusan wall to a redoubt which he constructed on the heights very far to the west of the Athenian position. Nicias began to

despair; he gave up the blockade, retired to Plemmyrium, which formed the southern boundary of the Great Harbour, and forwarded a despatch to Athens stating that affairs were in a hopeless state unless he received a powerful reinforcement. He even pleaded ill-health, and petitioned to be recalled. The Athenians refused to accept his resignation and adopted the other alternative of sending Eurymedon with a small squadron, which was followed in the ensuing spring<sup>1</sup> by a large fleet under the command of Demosthenes.

Whilst the Athenians were thus obliged to use their utmost efforts in carrying on a great war in a distant country, they suddenly found themselves involved in danger nearer home. Alcibiades had recommended the Lacedæmonians not only to send help to Syracuse but also to establish an army of occupation in the Athenian territory. Accordingly, in this spring their army under their king Agis invaded Attica, and fortified and garrisoned a place called Decelea, which, situated on the ridge of Mount Parnes, was actually within sight of Athens. Thus the enemy commanded the plain country in the neighbourhood of Athens, menaced the city itself, and placed it almost in a state of siege. Provisions became scarce, and the revenue was decreasing. In order to meet this difficulty a new financial plan was adopted,—a duty of five per cent. was imposed upon all imports and exports, in lieu of the tribute hitherto paid by the subject states. Their home difficulties, however, did not shake their confidence in their

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 413. Ol. xci. 4.

ambitious schemes, and they even endeavoured to counteract the operations of Sparta by retaliating upon her coasts, and an Athenian force established itself in a small fort on the south of Laconia.

Before, however, the reinforcements from Athens arrived, the Syracusans, encouraged by the backwardness of Nicias and by the persuasions of Gylippus and Hermocrates, ventured on a naval engagement with the Athenian fleet at the mouth of the Great Harbour; but the Athenians were victorious, and eleven Syracusan vessels were sunk. During the engagement, however, Gylippus had successfully attacked three redoubts which the Athenians had constructed at Plemmyrium, and captured a large booty. The Syracusans also determined to compensate for the defeat which they had sustained by another naval battle in the Great Harbour. Experience had already taught them what build of ships and what naval tactics would be best adapted to cope with the superior skill of the Athenians in a confined space where there was not sea-room for nautical manœuvres.

They observed that the sharp bows of the Athenian triremes weakened them, although they were suited to fast sailing, and that this peculiar build would be of little use in a confined space where there was no room for rapid evolutions. They therefore made the bows of their own ships broader and stronger, and were thus able to do more mischief to their adversaries and to stand unhurt the shock of their charge. Their plan proved successful, and the Athenians were defeated with the loss of several ships. What was still worse, they lost the prestige of being invincible by sea.

The trophy in commemoration of this victory had not long been erected when Demosthenes and Eurymedon triumphantly sailed into the Great Harbour. The former saw at once that half measures were useless, and that all his efforts must be immediately directed to the regaining possession of the ridge of Epipolæ. The Syracusans at first wavered before the gallant advance of the Athenian army, but they subsequently rallied, threw the enemy into confusion, and routed them. The night was dark, and many, in their endeavours to escape, threw themselves down the steep sides of Epipolæ and perished; others lost their way, and were cut to pieces by the Syracusan cavalry.

Even the enterprising Demosthenes began to despair, and proposed to Nicias to return to Athens. Nicias, more afraid of the Ecclesia than of the enemy, refused, but afterwards yielded to the advice of Demosthenes, and preparations were made for a retreat. The next morning was to have seen the army on the march, when that very night a lunar eclipse alarmed the superstitious general, and at the bidding of the soothsayers it was determined to defer the retreat until the moon had completed another revolution. The Syracusans without delay followed up the advantage which they had gained by a vigorous attack; by sea they were completely victorious, and the admiral Eurymedon was slain; but Gylippus, who led the assault by land, was driven back and defeated.

In proportion as ill success and sickness depressed the spirits of the Athenians, the Syracusans gained heart and courage. They resolved that the invaders



should not escape their vengeance, and with this view they blockaded them in the Great Harbour. With all their supplies thus cut off, the only hope which remained to the Athenians was to break their way through the line of vessels which filled the mouth of the port. Their fleet was numerous, amounting to one hundred and ten triremes; but, cramped within such narrow limits, it was impossible for them to avail themselves of their superior skill in naval tactics. Nicias, therefore, equipped his ships with grappling-irons, in order to come to close quarters with the enemy, and board his vessels. Before they set sail he endeavoured to the utmost of his power to raise the spirits of the crews and their captains, and then drew up the army on shore to watch the result. Whilst the flower of Syracuse served on board their fleet, the rest of the population thronged the walls of the older portion of the city, which commanded a view of this exciting scene.

Both nations witnessed the action with the deepest anxiety. On the one side, the prestige of the Athenians, a splendid fleet and an army of forty thousand picked men; on the other, the national existence of Syracuse, were at stake. Both fleets fought with the determined bravery which the consciousness of such a stake naturally inspired. The battle commenced with a vigorous attempt of the Athenians to force a passage through the mouth of the harbour. This movement was unsuccessful, and the engagement became general. From side to side alternately the tide of victory ebbed and flowed, and as the fortune of the day varied, shouts of triumph and mournful cries filled the air.

At length the Athenian fleet was seen to fly in confusion, chased by the Syracusans. The crews, panic-stricken, left the ships the moment they touched land, and, although the army made a last effort to save the fleet, the Athenian loss amounted to fifty out of one hundred and ten, whilst the Syracusans had fifty remaining out of seventy-six. In vain the Athenian generals endeavoured to rally their forces; they proposed that the remnant of the fleet should cut their way out, but the dismay and panic were so complete that the sailors refused, and they resolved to commence their mournful retreat by land.

Had they set forward on their march immediately, they would probably have been spared much sorrow and suffering. The battle had been fought upon a holiday, and, besides this, the Syracusans were so engaged in rejoicing at their victory that they would not have prevented their escape. Hermocrates, aware of this, despatched false intelligence to Nicias, stating that it was useless to attempt to escape that night, as all the roads and passes were occupied by Syracusans. Nicias thought that the information came from persons who were in his interest, and delayed his march for two days. He thus gave Gylippus the opportunity of posting his troops so as effectually to intercept his retreat.

When the homeward march began, all were selfish, all lost their self-possession, except Nicias—he alone cared for others, and sought to support and encourage them. The soldiers left the dead unburied, and abandoned the dying and wounded, notwithstanding their piteous supplications, to the vengeance of the

conquerors. Throughout their flight the enemy were close upon them, and for two days constantly harassed them. At length Nicias, under cover of night, succeeded in reaching the sea-coast; but Demosthenes, with six thousand men, being overtaken, purchased their lives by laying down their arms. Nicias, who led the van, was about six miles ahead of his colleague, and, therefore, never heard of his surrender until Gylippus came up with him on the following day. The news seemed to him incredible, and at first he asked permission to send a messenger to inquire into its truth. He was thus convinced of the fact, and promised to pay the expenses of the war, and to give hostages for the performance of this condition. The offer was rejected, and he still endeavoured to fight his way. When, however, he arrived at the river Asinarus, the attempt to cross it threw his whole force into utter confusion, and he was obliged to surrender at discretion.

Seven thousand prisoners, almost all that remained of this vast armament, were sent to work in the quarries at Epipolæ. There, during seventy days, they remained, half-starved, and exposed by day to the burning sun, and by night to the steaming malaria. Day by day death diminished their numbers, till at length the infection arising from their putrefying corpses compelled the Syracusans to remove the living. Nicias and Demosthenes were condemned to death. Hermocrates and Gylippus tried to save them, but in vain. All that they could do was to give them the opportunity of committing suicide. The surviving Athenian prisoners probably became

domestic slaves in Syracusan families; and tradition tells that some of them softened the hearts and engaged the affection of their masters by reciting passages which in their days of prosperity they had learned by heart from the dramas of Euripides.

It happened that shortly after this a stranger entered a barber's shop in the port of the Piræus, and told the disastrous news that the noble armada which had lately left their shores in joyous triumph was utterly destroyed. When he had told his story he disappeared and was nowhere to be found. The unfortunate barber, eager to be the first bearer of the mournful intelligence, hastened to the archons. As they were loth to believe these bad tidings, and he had no means of confirming them, they treated him as an impostor, and tortured him.

A few fugitives, however, from the scene of action soon corroborated the account; Athens was full of despair and indignation, and they vented their fury upon the orators who advised the expedition, and upon the soothsayers who had prophesied its success. It was not long, however, before they recovered their energy and presence of mind. Their spirits regained their usual elasticity, and they prepared by economy and self-denial to raise sufficient funds to meet their present difficulties.

These difficulties were not confined to their ill-success abroad. The occupation of Declea was a vexatious annoyance at their very gates. The whole plain of Attica was laid waste and plundered, and the city itself was almost in a state of siege. The news of the Athenian misfortunes soon reached their allies, and

they took advantage of them to be unfaithful. The Asiatic Greeks and the islanders of the Ægean began to revolt, and even neutral states openly took part against Athens. The Chian oligarchs were the first to begin the attack,<sup>1</sup> and through the intrigues of the traitor Alcibiades, Sparta put five ships at his disposal, to assist them in their design. This enabled them to compel the popular party to dissolve all connexion with Athens. Lesbos, Miletus, Teos, Erythræ, and Clazomenæ soon followed the example, and threw off the Athenian yoke.

The Spartans even forgot so far the common tie which bound them to Hellas as to conclude a treaty with the king of Persia, through the interposition of Tissaphernes, the Lydian satrap. The terms of this treaty were that Miletus should be surrendered to Persia, and that the king should carry on the war against Athens in conjunction with Lacedæmon. The Ægean and the coast of Asia Minor thus became the scene of war, and the Athenians used their utmost endeavours to arrest the growing disaffection. The island of Samos still remained faithful, because amidst the prevailing revolutions the democratical party had succeeded in maintaining the upper hand. There the Athenians established their head-quarters, and stationed a numerous fleet. Their energetic efforts were rewarded with some success. They laid waste Chios, recovered Lesbos and Clazomenæ, and also made an attack upon Miletus, but without any decisive result, for both sides claimed the victory, and they were obliged to leave the Spartans in undisturbed possession of the place.

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 412.xciii. Ol. 1.

The treaty with Tissaphernes seems to have caused some dissatisfaction at Sparta; the satrap also evaded an important article in it, by paying the sailors only half the sum of a drachma a day, which had been agreed upon, and that irregularly. Offended, therefore, with him, and doubtful as to the wisdom of their own policy, the home authorities despatched eleven commissioners to investigate the matter. They refused to ratify it; and when they proposed fresh conditions, Tissaphernes put an end to the negotiation. The intriguing character of Alcibiades also brought upon him the suspicions of his new friends, and they even sent orders to their admiral, Astyochus, to put him to death. There is no doubt that his influence with Tissaphernes caused the lukewarmness of the satrap in the Spartan cause, and the failure of those promises of success with which he had buoyed them up, made them imagine that he had wilfully deceived them.

The severe measures of Sparta towards him taught him that it was time to provide for his own safety. He fled to Tissaphernes, and by his popular manners gaining an influence over him, persuaded him to take care that neither Athens nor Lacedæmon should get the upper hand, but mutually weaken each other; thus they would eventually both fall a prey to Persia. As the Spartan force seemed the most powerful, he induced him to bribe their admirals to delay any further operations for the present.

Having carried his point so far, he opened a communication with the Athenian generals at Samos, and promised them that if they would secure his recall to his native city, and also the establishment of an

oligarchical form of government, he would conciliate the friendship of Tissaphernes, and that an alliance with Persia would follow. The generals who were friendly to the aristocratic party in Samos readily listened to his proposals, and even the soldiers, although at first their democratic principles led them to oppose strongly, consented ultimately, because they would have a better prospect of regular pay from Persia. Phrynichus, the general-in-chief, was the only one who offered opposition; not, indeed, on principle, for he showed himself almost immediately afterwards a determined supporter of the oligarchical faction, but because he saw that Alcibiades only insisted upon a change of government in order to secure his own personal safety.

There can be little doubt but that the generals believed that there was no hope for Athens in the crisis at which affairs had arrived, except in an alliance with Persia; for Pisander, whose politics were democratic, consented to be the bearer of the proposals to the Athenian Ecclesia. His line of argument was irresistible. The naval power of Sparta could not be destroyed without the aid of Persia; they could only gain this through the interposition of Alcibiades, nor would he act in their behalf unless an oligarchy was established.

The exigencies of the state wrested from the assembly, sorely against their will, a change in their beloved constitution. Pisander with ten commissioners were sent to negotiate with Tissaphernes and Alcibiades, and Phrynichus was superseded by Diomedes and Leon. When the commissioners arrived in Asia they had an interview with Alcibiades, and requested him

to exert his promised influence. He, however, knew that he had promised more than he could perform, and, in order that failure might not be laid to his charge, he made such exorbitant demands on the part of the satrap that the Athenian delegates broke off the negotiation. His conduct, however, did not escape suspicion. Tissaphernes upon this, fearful of pushing his even-handed policy too far, made a new treaty with Sparta, in which Asia alone, without the islands, was assigned to Persia, and by which he undertook to continue paying the fleet, and also to augment it with some Phœnician vessels.



## CHAPTER XIX.

REVOLUTION AT ATHENS—COUNCIL OF FOUR HUNDRED—ASSEMBLY OF FIVE THOUSAND—PEACE PROPOSED TO AGIS—POLITICAL REACTION AT SAMOS—ALCIBIADES INVITED THITHER—DEPOSITION OF THE FOUR HUNDRED—RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY—IMPEACHMENT OF THE OLIGARCHS—NAVAL BATTLES OFF CAPE CYNOSSEMA AND ABYDOS—MINDARUS SLAIN—LACONIC DESPATCH—CAPTURE OF BYZANTIUM BY ALCIBIADES—HIS RETURN TO ATHENS—HE ESCORTS THE PROCESSION TO ELEUSIS—SAILS TO SAMOS.

PISANDER returned to Athens, and, with little trouble and no bloodshed, established a new oligarchical form of government; and the revolutionary party were anxious also to extend the new order of things amongst the allies. In some places they succeeded, but the result was ruinous to the interests of Athens; for the oligarchical party, which thus became predominant, had never any sympathy with the Athenians, and were eager to take this opportunity of throwing off their yoke.

The first step which Pisander took, on his return, was to propose<sup>1</sup> to the Ecclesia the appointment of ten commissioners to draw up a scheme of the new constitution. The real framers were Pisander himself, Theramenes, and a celebrated orator named Antiphon. When all was prepared, the assembly was convoked at Colonus, a suburban district of Athens, and the

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 411. Ol. xcii. 2.

act was repealed which made it capital to propose any change in the constitution. Five presidents were then nominated, who were to choose ninety-five more, and each of these was then to select three. The supreme council of four hundred thus formed was to be irresponsible, and to supersede the senate of the five hundred. The franchise was moreover limited to five thousand citizens, whom the four hundred were to convene whenever they thought it expedient.

The powers of government being thus entrusted to them, the four hundred proceeded to exercise them forcibly without delay. Each with a concealed poniard, and supported by a body of one hundred and twenty armed men, they marched to the senate-house, paid the senators their salary, and installed themselves in their places. Then, dividing themselves into Prytanies, they offered up solemn prayers and sacrifices, and proceeded to the transaction of business. Their first object was peace with Sparta, and for this purpose they made proposals to Agis, the Spartan king. He, however, thinking that Athens was in a state of political confusion, attempted to make an attack upon the city, but by a sortie of the besieged he was repulsed.

The first effectual reaction which the leaders of the oligarchical party met with was at Samos. Ten envoys were sent thither to gain over the army, but before their arrival a formidable obstacle presented itself to the progress of the revolution. The oligarchical faction of the Samians, three hundred in number, had meditated the subversion of the democratic constitu-

tion, and their opponents applied for help to Leon and Diomedes, whose inclinations were favourable to democracy. They therefore granted their support, and, together with Thrasybulus, the captain of a ship, and Thrasyllus, an officer in the army, induced the soldiery and the sailors on board the state-vessel called the *Paralus*, to maintain the old constitutional cause by defending the liberties of the Samian people. When, therefore, the three hundred rose in arms, they were successfully resisted, thirty were killed, and the rest submitted to the democratic party.

A vessel was despatched to Athens with the intelligence, but as it did not arrive until the revolution had taken place, the crew were seized and imprisoned. Chæreas, the captain, managed to escape, and conveyed to Samos such exaggerated accounts of the tyranny of the four hundred, that the whole army bound themselves by an oath to maintain the old democratic constitution. They then superseded some of their generals, and elected Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus in their places. Such confidence did they still place in Alcibiades that he was invited to Samos, again to beguile them with his treacherous promises, and was even elevated to the rank of a general.

At this crisis envoys from the four hundred, who hearing of the counter revolution had stopped at Delos on their way, instead of proceeding to Samos, arrived. The army would not listen to them, but vehemently called upon Alcibiades and his colleagues, Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus, to lead them at once to Athens, and depose the four hundred. He, however, induced them to give up this pro-

position; and the answer returned to Athens was that the four hundred must abdicate, and the five hundred be restored. Alcibiades meanwhile kept up an intimate correspondence with the satrap, over whom his new position gave him great influence.

The counter proceedings at Samos sowed the seeds of disunion amongst the four hundred, and the new government spontaneously crumbled to pieces. Theramenes changed sides; Antiphon and Phrynichus built a fortress at Eetionea, which commanded the port of Piræus, and thus exposed themselves to the suspicion of holding traitorous communication with Sparta; and this suspicion was increased by the arrival of a Lacedæmonian fleet under the command of Agesandridas, which sank or disabled twenty-two Athenian ships, and caused Eubœa to revolt from Athens. Phrynichus was assassinated, and with the sanction of Theramenes a party of hoplites demolished the fort Eetionea.

The hours of the oligarchical constitution were now numbered; an assembly was summoned to meet in the Pnyx, a place hallowed by so many old associations; the four hundred were deposed, and the government was vested in the hands of the five thousand. This measure was, in fact, equivalent to the reestablishment of democracy; for the assembly of the five thousand included every heavy-armed Athenian citizen, and was, in fact, never strictly limited to the nominal number.

One after another, all the old institutions were again called into existence; and one great abuse in the old Athenian political system was reformed, which had

existed since the time of Pericles. Up to this time all Athenian citizens were paid three obols (about  $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ ) a day for attending as members of the Ecclesia (*ecclesiasts*), or as jurymen in the courts of law (*dicastas*): on this occasion all official pay was abolished. The chiefs of the oligarchical party were impeached by the renegade Theramenes. Antiphon made an eloquent oration in his own defence, but, together with Archeptolemus, was condemned and executed. Pisander and others escaped to Decelea, and in their absence they were condemned, their goods confiscated, and their houses razed to the ground.

Mindarus, the new Spartan admiral, became at length wearied with expecting the Phœnician naval reinforcement which had been promised by Pharnabazus; and, as the pay of the sailors was also very irregularly supplied, he set sail without further delay for the Hellespont to join the satrap, and to encourage revolt amongst the Athenian allies. Thrasyllus, the Athenian admiral, gave chase to him, but he evaded his fleet, and arrived safe at the Hellespont. The following day Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus came up with him, and in a few days gave him battle off Cape Cynossema. The Peloponnesian fleet was the more numerous of the two, but the Athenians gained a dearly-bought victory, and erected a trophy.<sup>1</sup>

This defeat was followed by a still more terrible disaster. Mindarus sent for fifty vessels which were stationed at Eubœa, but they were overtaken by one of the hurricanes which infest those seas, and were totally wrecked off the promontory of Mount Athos.

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 411. Ol. xcii. 2.

Only twelve men were saved. Another stoutly contested naval engagement was also fought off Abydos. Pharnabazus, satrap of the Hellespont, assisted the Lacedæmonians, and the battle continued undecided till the close of the day. Alcibiades then arrived with eighteen triremes, the Peloponnesians fled to Abydos, and thirty of their ships fell into the hands of the Athenians.

The inclinations of Tissaphernes appear now to have favoured the Peloponnesians, whereas Alcibiades thought that he wished well to the Athenians: when, therefore, he ventured into the satrap's presence, he was taken prisoner, but in a month he effected his escape to the Athenian fleet.<sup>1</sup> With eighty-six ships he sailed to the relief of Cyzicus, which Mindarus was besieging. A heavy rain and thick mist concealed the Athenian fleet, and enabled a division of it to get between Mindarus and the shore. The weather suddenly cleared up, and the sun shone out; and Mindarus seeing his retreat was intercepted, ran his ships aground. A battle was fought by land, in which the Peloponnesians were totally routed, and Mindarus slain. The following laconic despatch, written by Hermocrates, the second in command, conveyed the disastrous news to Sparta:—"Our good fortune is gone; Mindarus is dead; the troops are starving; we know not what to do."

The most important consequences resulted from this battle. Cyzicus and Selymbria were recovered, and a custom-house was established at Chrysopolis, at the mouth of the Bosphorus, where the ancient

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 410. Ol. xcii. 3.

duty of ten per cent. was again exacted from all vessels sailing out of the Euxine. Pharnabazus did all in his power to aid the Spartans with money, provisions, and timber for building ships; but he could neither raise their dejected spirits, nor resist the brilliant successes of Alcibiades. The annoyance of Decelea, and the scarcity arising from the yearly devastation of the neighbourhood of Athens, was thus remedied; for Athens was now mistress of the corn trade of the Euxine, and was no longer under any apprehension as to the failure of supplies.

During the ensuing year<sup>1</sup> Alcibiades pursued a most successful career, and concluded his achievements with the capture of Byzantium, which was betrayed into his hands by a faction, and an advantageous treaty was concluded between Pharnabazus and Athens, by which the satrap bound himself to pay twenty talents.

The following year<sup>2</sup> saw the triumphant return of Alcibiades to his ill-used native city. All his offences were forgotten and forgiven. As the Athenians were unreasonable enough to visit upon their generals their failures, so success covered a multitude of wrong doings, and was a sure passport to favour. Alcibiades had restored the supremacy of Athens in the islands of the Ægean, the Hellespont, and the Euxine; he returned to the Piræus laden with spoil, and with a train of two hundred captured vessels. The whole population received him with joyous welcome. When he appeared in the assembly, and fearlessly defended himself against the charge of impiety, no one ventured to reply, and

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 409. Ol. xcii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 408. Ol. xciii. 1.

his fellow-countrymen who heard him were affected even to tears. The sentence pronounced upon him was reversed, his property was restored, and he himself was appointed general, and entrusted with the command of one hundred ships, fifteen thousand heavy-armed troops, and one hundred and fifty cavalry.

With this force he prepared to sail for Samos, but before his departure the anniversary of the Eleusinian mysteries arrived. For some years the occupation of Decelea by the Spartans had prevented the sacred procession from marching along the road to Eleusis. Alcibiades, with a body of troops, escorted it there and back in safety. This act of pious gallantry raised public enthusiasm to the highest pitch; and even the priestly family of the Eumolpidæ forgave him, and revoked the curse which they had formerly imprecated upon the betrayer of his country. With the force entrusted to him he sailed to Andros, which was in the occupation of the Lacedæmonians, but, failing to reduce it, he left Conon there with twenty ships, and proceeded on his voyage to Samos.



## CHAPTER XXI.

POLICY OF PERSIA—CYRUS—LYSANDER—HIS CHARACTER—ALCIBIADES SUPERSEDED—CALLICRATIDAS SUCCEEDS LYSANDER—BATTLE OF ARGINUSÆ—CALLICRATIDAS DROWNED—CRUEL TREATMENT OF THE ATHENIAN GENERALS—LYSANDER VICE-ADMIRAL—BATTLE OF ÆGOSPOTAMI—ATHENS INVESTED BY LAND AND SEA—NEGOTIATIONS WITH SPARTA—CONGRESS OF THE PELOPONNESIAN ALLIANCE—TERMS OF PEACE—THE WALLS DEMOLISHED—ALCIBIADES ASSASSINATED—THE THIRTY TYRANTS—YEAR OF ANARCHY—THERAMENES AND CRITIAS—FLIGHT OF THE TYRANTS—THE OLD CONSTITUTION RESTORED—REVISION OF THE LAWS OF SOLON—MISTAKEN POLICY OF POPULAR STATESMEN.

WHILST Alcibiades was thus reaping golden opinions at Athens, the court of Persia had commenced a more decided line of policy. Darius, dissatisfied with the temporizing conduct of Tissaphernes, had appointed his own younger son Cyrus to the command of the whole Asiatic coast. This prince was not only resolute and energetic, but also bitterly hated the Athenians. The Persian policy, therefore, became henceforth decidedly anti-Athenian. In addition to this advantage in their foreign relations, the Lacedæmonians had also this year<sup>1</sup> a new admiral, as the successor of Mindarus,—the celebrated Lysander. He was as brave as Brasidas, and as unprincipled as Alcibiades. Born of humble parentage, he had raised himself to his high

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 407. Ol. xciii. 2.

position by his abilities and energy. Determined to attain whatever end he proposed to himself, he was utterly unscrupulous as to the means; in his conduct he carried to the utmost the Spartan maxim, that success justified any amount of deceit and falsehood. With a fleet of seventy ships he sailed to Ephesus, and there had an interview with Cyrus. The feelings of the Persian prince against Athens predisposed him in favour of Lysander; he received him graciously, and at his request raised the pay of the sailors from three to four obols a day.

Whilst Lysander was at Ephesus, Alcibiades had gone to join Thrasybulus at Phocæa, leaving Antiochus in command. Before he went, he gave him strict injunctions not to give battle to Lysander. Antiochus, however, disobeyed orders, sailed for Ephesus, and provoked Lysander to an engagement. The Athenians lost the battle and fifteen ships. Antiochus himself was slain. The old enmities against Alcibiades, which had been smothered for a time, now broke out afresh at this disaster, and received increased strength from complaints of bad conduct which reached Athens. Public opinion veered round, Alcibiades was superseded, and retired to the Chersonese, and ten generals, with Conon as the chief, were appointed in his place.

The Spartan office of Admiral (*Navarchus*) was an annual one, and Lysander's term expired soon after Conon was put in commission. His successor, Calli-crattidas, was young, brave, honest, and disinterested; the cunning Lysander used his utmost efforts to embarrass him. Cyrus, instigated probably by the

intrigues of Lysander, provided no funds ; but, nothing disheartened, Callicratidas procured them from the Chians and Milesians, and, by his activity, especially by blockading Conon at Mytilene, forced the Athenians to send out a fresh fleet of one hundred and ten sail, and manned it with slaves as well as citizens.

At Samos further reinforcements augmented the fleet to one hundred and fifty, and the armament then took up its position at Arginusæ, a cluster of small islands situated between the southern promontory of Lesbos and the Asiatic coast. Callicratidas met them with one hundred and twenty sail. His sailing master perceiving the superiority of the enemy's numbers, advised him strongly not to risk an engagement, but he was too true a Spartan to retreat. The battle was obstinately contested. The Athenians were eventually victorious, and the Spartan admiral fell overboard and was drowned. The Lacedæmonians lost seventy-seven vessels, the Athenians twenty-five. The Athenian generals used their utmost endeavours to save the wrecked and the wounded, and to collect the corpses of the dead, but a violent storm which came on immediately after the battle rendered the task impossible.

An act of cruel injustice on the part of the Athenian people sullied the glory of this victory. Theramenes and others accused the generals of having neglected their duty towards the dead and dying. They were recalled in order to be put upon their trial, and six out of the ten obeyed the summons. It is impossible to say for certain, but the probability is that they were blameless ; no means were omitted to excite

popular prejudice against them. False witnesses were bribed to bear testimony, and at the Ionian festival of the Apaturia, at which all Athenian families were accustomed to meet together, the relations of those who perished at Arginusæ were ostentatiously paraded, clad in mourning. So virulent was the attack, that it was even proposed in the Ecclesia, that, contrary to the Athenian law, they should be condemned *en masse* by a single vote. The Prytanes at first refused, but their firmness gave way, and they consented to put the question. Socrates, who only on one other occasion interfered in political affairs, and that was in order to oppose an act of injustice, persevered resolutely to the last, but his opposition was in vain. The six generals were condemned and executed, and amongst them was the son of Pericles.

It is said by some that the Spartans, disheartened by the loss of the battle, made proposals of peace; if they did, they were disregarded. The fleet and Cyrus, aware of the great abilities of Lysander, urged his reappointment as admiral. To hold this office a second time was unconstitutional; he was therefore made Vice-admiral (*Epistoleus*) under Aracus, with the understanding, however, that he should be in reality commander-in-chief.<sup>1</sup> As the Athenian fleet under the command of Conon was superior in numbers to his, amounting indeed to one hundred and eighty sail, he avoided coming to an engagement; and sailing to the Hellespont, besieged and took Lampsacus. Conon followed him, and took up his position opposite Lampsacus at Ægospotami (*the rivers of the goat*).

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 405. Ol. xciii. 4.

It was a barren and desolate place, where no provisions were near at hand. The Athenians, therefore, owing to this inconvenience, tried to force the Spartan admiral to fight a battle. During four successive days they challenged him in vain. This apparent timidity rendered the Athenian sailors negligent, and Lysander, watching his opportunity, took them off their guard, put them to the rout, and succeeded in capturing nearly the whole fleet without experiencing any loss. Only twelve Athenian ships at the utmost escaped. Conon was afraid to face his fellow-citizens, and Lysander ordered all the unfortunate prisoners, to the number of three or four thousand, to be put to death. The Lacedæmonians followed up this decisive battle with the subjugation of the Athenian dependencies. City after city submitted. Democracy was overthrown in every one of them, and oligarchical constitutions were established, and not only was Athens deprived of those allies from which, during the period of her prosperity, she had derived her principal resources, but she lost the power of drawing supplies and provisions from the Euxine.

The state-vessel called the *Paralus*, which had escaped capture, conveyed to Athens the news of the lost battle. The citizens were paralysed, and seemed to expect the worst fate of besieged towns. King Agis was still at Decelea, and the other king, Pausanias, collected the Peloponnesian forces together, and encamped in the Academy beneath the very city walls, Whilst Athens was thus besieged by land, Lysander, with a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, made his appearance off the mouth of the Piræus. Bravely

still the city held out, until famine began to spread its ravages amongst the inhabitants. Offers of surrender were then made, but only on condition that the Piræus and the long walls should be preserved. Agis would give no decisive answer, but referred the delegates to the Ephors at Sparta. Scarcely, however, had they reached the frontier when they were met by messengers who recommended them to return and amend their proposals.

Still the starving people would not hear of giving up the means of maintaining their independence. Theramenes volunteered to go to Lysander and negotiate. Three months, during which the people were perishing from starvation, were spent in this mission, and by this delay he attained his object, which evidently was to reduce Athens to such a state of distress as to be glad of peace on any terms, and thus by the aid of Sparta to establish an oligarchy. The result answered his expectations; famine had by this time done its work, and he, with nine other commissioners, was sent to Sparta immediately to negotiate.

The allies were summoned in solemn congress, and the Thebans and Corinthians advised the utter destruction of Athens and the enslaving of its whole population. It is said that at an entertainment given whilst the congress was sitting, a Phocian sang a chorus in the *Electra* of Euripides, in which the poet contrasts the glories of the royal house of Agamemnon with its subsequent humiliation. The audience applied the verses to the changed fortunes of Athens, and felt compassion for the fallen city. However this may be, the Spartans proved themselves gene-

rous enemies, and peace was granted on the following terms:—The long walls, as well as those of the Piræus, were to be razed to the ground; the whole fleet, except twelve ships, was to be surrendered; the foreign dependencies to be resigned; all exiles recalled, and an alliance offensive and defensive to be made between Athens and Sparta. So crushed was the Athenian spirit by want and misery, that even these hard terms, which annihilated their proud supremacy in Greece, were accepted with joy, and carried in the Ecclesia by an overwhelming majority.

This treaty put a finishing stroke to the Peloponnesian war, which had lasted twenty-seven years.<sup>1</sup> Lysander sailed triumphantly into the Piræus, took possession of the fleet, and demolished those walls which were the pride of Athens, the foundations of which had been laid in fraud and deceit to the sound of flutes and festive music. The solid masonry gave way amidst the glad shouts of assembled multitudes, who, jealous of the power and weary of the tyranny of Athens, hailed this day as the dawn of liberty to Greece, and the anniversary of the glorious fight of Salamis saw the extinction of that supremacy which had endured for more than seventy years.

From the work of destruction the victorious Lysander sailed to carry on the siege of Samos, which soon surrendered, and accepted an oligarchical constitution. This same year also witnessed the assassination of Alcibiades. According to the most probable account he fled to Pharnabazus, shortly after the battle of Ægospotami, and solicited an asylum at the Persian

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 404. Ol. xciv. I.

court. The satrap, however, allowed him an abode and maintenance in Phrygia. The distrust of the Spartans pursued him in his Asiatic retreat, and at their request the satrap sent a body of armed men to murder him. Too cowardly to attack him hand to hand, the assassins surrounded his house and set it on fire. Even when he rushed out to meet his foes, sword in hand, they were afraid to cope with him, but retired to a distance and dispatched him with arrows. Timandra, a lady to whom he was attached, covered his corpse with her mantle, and performed over it the last sad rites of burial. Another story tells how that he fell a victim to the just vengeance of the brothers of a lady whom he had seduced.

Thus died, in the fortieth year of his age, one of the worst, but yet one of the most brilliant characters that at the same time adorn and disgrace the pages of Athenian history. His fascinating powers of pleasing were perverted to profligacy; his talents were abused to the gratification of selfish ambition; his enterprising courage degenerated into unprincipled audacity. He was the greatest curse to his country, although he possessed qualities calculated to make him its greatest blessing.

Amongst the exiles of oligarchical principles who had returned to Athens was Critias, the uncle of Plato, the degenerate disciple of Socrates. At the instigation of him and his faction, aided by Theramenes, the democratic leaders were seized and silenced. Lysander was sent for, and a provisional government of thirty persons, commonly called the thirty tyrants, was established. The appointment of



this council satisfied the Spartans; Agis evacuated Decelea, and disbanded his army. Lysander, when Samos had surrendered, as has been already mentioned, returned to Sparta enriched with the spoils which he had collected from the conquered dependencies of Athens.

The archon (Eponymus) of this year, was Pythodorus, but the year was not, as usual, named after him. It was a reign of terror, and as it is called in history, a year of anarchy. The revolution which had taken place seven years before was unaccompanied by bloodshed, but this was accomplished by cruelty, proscription and rapine. At first the thirty in the condemnation of their opponents made a show of observing a legal process, and the executions were confined to those whose characters were notoriously bad. But soon the people were disarmed. A Spartan force garrisoned the citadel. The city was placed at the mercy of a hired band of assassins. The blood of the best, the noblest, and the wealthiest in Athens flowed without trial, by the mere warrant of the tyrants. Five thousand fled from that doom which was otherwise inevitable; amongst them, Thrasybulus and the orator Lysias; and the property of the exiled was confiscated.

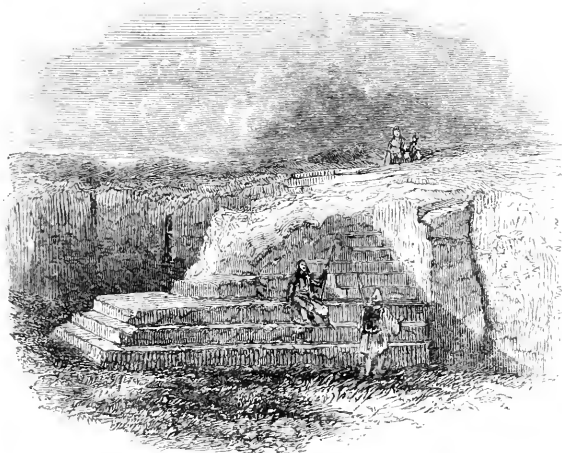
More were put to death in this year than had fallen by the hand of justice since Athens had been a state. Even women and children were treated with savage cruelty, and citizens were encouraged to swell the lists of the proscribed with victims, in order that they might plunder them of their property. The tyrants even compelled their fellow-citizens to be the unwill-

ling instruments in carrying into effect their blood-thirsty designs. In one of these cases they ordered five distinguished Athenians to arrest and bring back from Salamis a citizen who was obnoxious to them. Amongst the five was Socrates, but he had the moral courage resolutely and successfully to refuse to do their bidding.

Of all these savage tyrants Theramenes was the most moderate. He was artful and unscrupulous, but not gratuitously blood-thirsty. He did not hesitate at the commission of judicial murders, but he would not sanction them where he thought them politically unnecessary. By his influence the outward form of a constitution was established. Three thousand citizens, partisans of the thirty, were invested with the franchise, a senate was appointed, and twenty-one magistrates to govern the police of the city and its harbours. All the rest, however, of the inhabitants were deprived, not only of their political privileges, but of legal protection; they were even disarmed, and thus deprived of the means of protecting themselves.

So conscious were the tyrants of the vitality of that liberty which they had crushed, that they jealously opposed everything which was likely to revive it. They forbade instruction in oratory, and, aware that the maritime greatness and foreign commerce of Athens had been the nurse of liberal institutions, they turned the platform (*bema*) in the Pnyx, from which the orators spoke in the Ecclesia, away from the sea, lest the view of it, as had often been the case, should suggest arguments in favour of democracy. Even the fortifications of their renowned harbour, the

Piræus, were sold for the paltry sum of three talents, to be destroyed.



The Bema, in the Pnyx.

As Theramenes was the most moderate, so Critias was the most blood-thirsty of their party. He was imbued with the anti-democratic politics, but not with the benevolent humanity, of his great master, Socrates, of whom he afterwards became the bitter persecutor. Theramenes was horror-struck at the atrocity of putting citizens to death for the sake of their property, and strongly urged moderation upon Critias. He thus became this monster's victim. Critias rose in the senate, erased his name from the list of the three thousand, and thus virtually outlawed him. Theramenes rushed to the altar in the senate-house, but one of the "eleven," a body of officers

who executed duties corresponding to those of a sheriff in modern times, tore him away from it, in vain calling upon gods and men to bear witness to the sacrilege. He was then dragged across the agora, and thrown into prison. With calm courage and a smiling countenance he drank the hemlock and tossed the last drops from the cup, as was customary when playing the *cottabus*, a favourite Athenian game, saying, "This to the health of the handsome Critias." Wicked and tyrannical though he was, he was not so bad as his colleagues, and from the moment when his influence was removed, there was no longer a check to cruelty and oppression.

Thrasybulus, who in the former revolution had been a staunch friend to the democratic constitution, had the honour of delivering his country from this reign of terror. This distinguished general, together with other exiles like himself, had fled for refuge to Thebes. Placing himself at the head of seventy of this band, he seized the frontier fortress of Phylæ, and so stoutly did the gallant little party defend the place, that they held it against the Thirty and their three thousand adherents. Day by day more and more exiles joined his standard, till at last, when their numbers increased to seven hundred, they made a sortie and routed their assailants, and finally occupied the harbours of the Munychia and the Piræus.

In the latter port a battle was fought in which the exiles were victorious. The tyrants lost seventy, amongst whom was Critias, and on the following day they fled to Eleusis. Both the fugitives at Eleusis, and the three thousand who still occupied the city,

sent to Sparta for aid. An army was despatched immediately under the command of Lysander, and was followed by another led by Pausanias. Had not the king, through jealousy of Lysander's prowess, refrained from efficiently supporting him, the oligarchical party might have been successful. As it was, however, through the intervention of the Spartan king, a treaty of peace was made, followed by a general amnesty, from which the Thirty alone were excluded. The old democratic constitution was restored, and a law was passed making the proposal of any alteration a capital crime. Wreaths of olive were awarded to the pure patriotism of Thrasybulus and his gallant followers.

This year<sup>1</sup> is commonly designated as the Archonship of Euclides. It is remarkable not only for the final downfall of oligarchical tyranny, but also for the complete revision of the laws of Solon. For this task a special commission of five hundred was appointed, and it is worthy of mention that all the letters of the Ionic alphabet, *i. e.* the present Greek alphabet, were employed in the transcription of them by Nicomachus. The old Attic alphabet, which had been used previously, consisted only of eighteen letters.

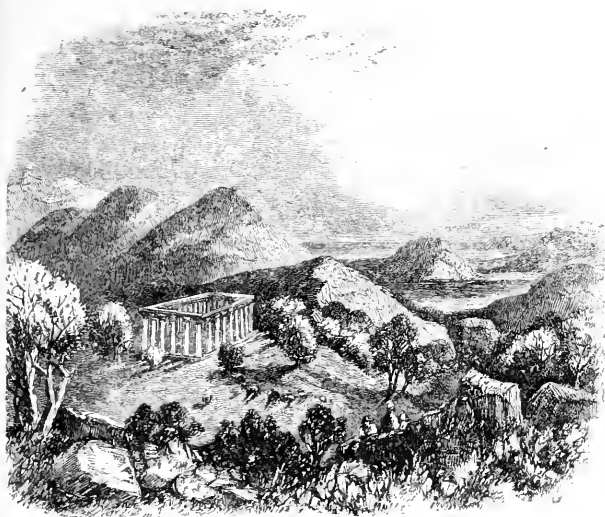
The century which was now drawing to a close witnessed the bright infancy of Athenian liberty, its rise and progress to perfection, the gradual sapping of its foundations by the baneful machinations of mob-flattering demagogues on the one hand, and intriguing oligarchs on the other, and finally the commencement of its decay. For although when the

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 403. Ol. xciv. 2

Thirty were expelled, the constitution of Solon in a revised form was restored, it never thoroughly recovered from the shock which it had undergone. The political calm which ensued was of short duration, and soon the strife of faction breaking out afresh, prepared the way for that period during which liberty and patriotism alike succumbed to the overwhelming power of Philip of Macedon.

Those statesmen who, like Pericles, defended the privileges of the people, were benevolent and in most things wise ; but that policy of theirs was a mistaken one which attempted to remedy the wide distinction between poor and rich, and to calm the jealousies and discontents of the former, by teaching them to depend upon state support instead of upon their own industry. In accordance with that policy, corn and money were distributed gratuitously to the poorer citizens ; the produce of the silver mines of Laurion was divided amongst them ; the lands of conquered dependencies were allotted to them as *cleruchi*. Eighteen thousand received at first two, and afterwards three obols each as *thêorica*, or the price of admission to the theatre and other holiday pleasures. The same sum, as has been already stated, was also paid to each citizen for his attendance at the Ecclesia, and for acting as a dicast or juryman in the courts of justice. By these means the citizens of Athens were tempted to become idlers, newsmongers,<sup>1</sup> and busybodies, and to leave the production of real wealth to slaves and resident foreigners.

<sup>1</sup> See Acts xvii. 21.



Temple of Apollo Phigalæa

## CHAPTER XXII.

ORIGIN OF ATTIC DRAMA—THESPIAS THE INVENTOR OF DRAMATIC TRAGEDY—PHRYNICHUS SEPARATES TRAGEDY FROM COMEDY—CHÆRILUS AND PRATINAS—RELIGIOUS CHARACTERISTICS OF THE THREE GREAT TRAGIC POETS—ÆSCHYLUS—SOPHOCLES—EURIPIDES—THE THREE TRAGEDIANS REPRESENT THE LAW OF PROGRESS—ORIGIN OF COMEDY—SUSARION INTRODUCES IT INTO ATTICA—EPICHRMUS FIRST WRITES COMEDIES—PHORMIS—DINOLOCHUS—CHIONIDES—MAGNES—OLD ATTIC COMEDY—EUPOLIS—CRATINUS—CRATES—ARISTOPHANES.

THE century during which these wonderful political changes took place, which saw Greece bravely break down the power of Persia, and, after a period of glorious independence, again bow and cringe to Asiatic satraps, gave birth to the most vigorous and

cultivated intellects which have ever adorned the world. History, poetry, oratory and philosophy flourished, and made Athens their own peculiar home.

Literary taste, which spent its childhood and youth beneath the genial climate of Asia Minor, was transplanted to Athens, and there, encouraged by the fostering care of Pisistratus and his sons, attained its maturity. Dramatic poetry is exclusively the creation of the Hellenic mind; and owing to the enthusiasm with which the whole people enjoyed works of the imagination, Athenian literature naturally assumed the dramatic form. Under these circumstances the drama attained at Athens a perfection which has never been surpassed in succeeding ages, and a moral and political influence which a national literature has never before or since exercised. The Attic drama was invested with a religious character, and was of Dorian origin; it arose out of the old



Theatre of Dionysus, at Athens.

Dithyrambic chorus, which symbolized the legendary history of Dionysus or Bacchus, and was celebrated



in his honour. The theatre was a temple of that deity; the thymele, on which the leader of the chorus sometimes took his stand, was an altar to that deity. The chorus was originally a solemn dance, accompanied by a sacred hymn.

The drama at first consisted entirely of a lyric chorus. About the year B.C. 536, Thespis, a native of Icaria, a village near Athens, introduced a performer who recited a narrative, accompanied with suitable action. He wore an appropriate mask and costume; but there was no plot,—the chorus still bore the principal part, and the actor's part was a mere episode. He, however, maintained a dialogue with the chorus, and thence derived his name of *Hypocrités*, or *answerer* to the chorus; and from the circumstance of Thespis having introduced an actor, he is properly considered the inventor of the dramatic as opposed to the old lyric form of Tragedy. At this stage of progress, it is probable that the tragic and comic elements were united together—that jest and merriment mingled with the seriousness of human sorrows.

The subjects of the drama were at this period legends connected with the adventures of Dionysus (*Bacchus*;) and so much did the spectators expect this to be the case, that whenever any other stories were introduced, they would express their disappointment by exclaiming, "This has nothing to do with Dionysus." The chorus was habited in goat-skins like the satyrs, the attendants of Dionysus; and hence was derived the word Tragedy, or the *goat ode*,<sup>1</sup> whilst Comedy derived

<sup>1</sup> From *τράγος* (*tragos*), and *ὤδή* (*ode*).

its appellation from the festive occasions on which it was exhibited.<sup>1</sup>

In this condition Tragedy remained until the time of Phrynichus. He separated the tragic from the comic and satiric elements of tragedy. His subjects were not confined to the legends of Dionysus, but embraced such events as were calculated to move the feelings of the spectators. In one of his plays he related the capture of Miletus in such touching language that the whole audience burst into tears. The archon sentenced the poet to pay a fine of one thousand drachmæ, for representing the sad fate of a people who were allies of Athens.<sup>2</sup> Chœrilus and Pratinas were nearly contemporaries of Phrynichus; and after them tragedy became exclusively Athenian, and the era of Athenian political greatness exactly coincides with that in which Athenian tragedy flourished. The first dramatic contest of Æschylus took place B.C. 499; and the years in which were fought the battles of Arginusæ and Ægospotami<sup>3</sup> were marked by the deaths of Sophocles and Euripides.

Although Athens could boast during this period of many tragic poets, these three, many of whose plays have come down to us perfect, are doubtless the greatest of all, and to them the united voice of the Athenian public assigned the palm. We may, therefore, feel satisfied that in their extant works we possess the finest specimens of the Greek dramatic writings. They, like their predecessors Homer and Pindar, embodied in their poetry different phases of Greek

<sup>1</sup> From κῶμος (*comus*), and ὠδή (*ode*), the "ode of the revellers."

<sup>2</sup> Herod. vi. 21.

<sup>3</sup> B.C. 405. Ol. xciii. 4.

religious belief. As Homer represented the popular and Pindar the priestly creed, so Æschylus and Sophocles enforced the need of divine comfort and support, and of riddance from the burden of sin, of which the human heart is conscious ; Euripides, that philosophical belief which degenerates first into scepticism, and next into infidelity.



Æschylus.

Æschylus was born at Eleusis,<sup>1</sup> and from the awful rites of the Eleusinian mysteries may possibly have derived somewhat of the grandeur and solemnity which pervade his tragedies. He was warmly attached to the aristocratic institutions of this country ;

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 525. Ol. lxiii. 4.

and owing to the unpopularity of his politics with the democratic party he was exiled, and retired to the court of Hiero, tyrant of Syracuse, a great patron of learned men. He died at Gela, aged sixty-eight. An eagle is said to have let fall a tortoise on his bald head, mistaking it for a white stone. The Gelans instituted public games in his honour; and his epitaph was written by himself, in which he shows that he valued the credit of having fought at Marathon far more highly than his poetical reputation.

“ Athenian Æschylus, Euphorion’s son,  
Buried in Gela’s fields, these lines declare ;  
His deeds are register’d at Marathon,  
Known to the deep-hair’d Mede who met him there.”  
ÆSCHYLUS, translated by C. MERIVALE.

The plots of the Æschylean dramas are of the utmost simplicity, but deeply interesting. He represents wickedness in all its horrors, and heroic bravery in all its majestic grandeur. He does not excite the softer tragic passion of pity, but his power to strike terror is almost supernatural. His words are as gigantic as his ideas. His scenery is that of Salvator Rosa, his characters those of Michael Angelo. He composed seventy, perhaps ninety tragedies, and of these seven are still extant. Like all tragic poets, he exhibited them in trilogies, or sets of three, followed by a satyric drama. The plots of each trilogy were usually consecutive portions of the same story. The satyric play was a burlesque or travestie of tragedy, in which the chorus was costumed as a band of satyrs, and was, like a farce in modern times, calcu-

lated to revive the spirits of the spectators after the horrors of the tragedy.



Sophocles.

Sophocles was the son of a sword-cutler, and a native of the bright and cheerful Athenian suburb of Colonus.<sup>1</sup> To an elegant and accomplished mind he added a beautiful and graceful person; and at the age of fifteen was selected to lead a band of beautiful youths who danced at the public rejoicings after the battle of Salamis. At twenty-seven he contested the prize of tragic poetry with Æschylus, and vanquished him. When he exhibited his "Antigone," the most inte-

<sup>1</sup> Born B.C. 495. Ol. lxxi. 2.

resting of all his plays, his fellow-countrymen were so delighted not only with its dramatic excellence, but also with its political principles, that they elected him one of their ten generals. This, as might be expected, did not turn out to be a suitable reward. As Pericles said of him, he was a good poet, but a bad general. Unlike the aristocratic Æschylus, he was a warm supporter of liberal principles. Numerous sentiments in his plays bear witness to his attachment to the cause of freedom, and his whole life was one continued proof of his patriotism.

An affecting episode saddens the conclusion of the aged poet's life. The eldest of his five sons accused him of mental imbecility. The only answer which the poet made to this unnatural charge was to recite to his judges a beautiful chorus in his "Œdipus Coloneus," which he had but lately written. His judges, struck with admiration, unanimously gave their verdict in his favour, and he was escorted to his home in triumph. Some say that Sophocles was choked by a grape-stone; others, that he expired whilst publicly reciting his "Antigone;" others, that he died of joy on obtaining a dramatic victory. These are but traditions, but it is probable that he lived to extreme old age, able to exercise his beloved art, and that he died without disease or suffering. A beautiful epigram, of which the following is a well-known translation, was written to his memory by Simmias, the Theban poet:—

“ Wind, gentle evergreen, to form a shade  
Around the tomb where Sophocles is laid;  
Sweet ivy, wind thy boughs to intertwine  
With blushing roses and the clustering vine.

Thus will thy lasting leaves, with beauties hung,  
Prove grateful emblems of the lays he sung,  
Whose soul, exalted by the God of Wit,  
Among the Muses and the Graces writ."

SIMMIAS THE THEBAN.

As Æschylus added a second, so Sophocles introduced a third actor. He wrote one hundred and thirteen dramas, of which seven still remain. In the works of Sophocles is seen the perfection of Athenian tragedy. Art shines forth as the ornament of the truth of nature. His lyrics have not the same poetic inspiration as those of Æschylus, but they have more harmony and sweetness. His characters are not so awful and supernatural, but appeal more to our sympathies and affections. We admire and stand in awe of the heroes of the one—we sympathise and feel for those of the other. His plots are less simple, but display more dramatic skill; his language, though not so grand and terrible, is equally dignified, and is incapable of higher polish and refinement. Tenderness and beauty beam forth in his characters as in the finished pictures of Raphael.

Euripides was born on the same day on which the glorious battle of Salamis was fought. His parents, who were persons of rank and consideration, were amongst those exiles who took refuge in Salamis, in accordance with the advice of Themistocles. He studied the principles of artistic beauty as a painter, and afterwards received a complete philosophical education. To this discipline he owed the acuteness and subtlety which are manifest in his tragedies. His temper, which was austere and ascetic—his philosophical principles, which were opposed to the

popular religious creed—and his politics, which were adverse to the will of the sovereign people—rendered him most unpopular with his countrymen,



Euripides

and he is said to have been an implacable hater of women. Party-spirit drove him into exile,<sup>1</sup> and he found an asylum at the court of Archelaus, king of Macedon. Some say that this hater of the fair sex was torn to pieces by women; others, that two rival poets worried him to death with savage hounds. He reached the age of seventy-five, and wrote either seventy-five or ninety-two dramas. The following

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 408. Ol. xciii. 1.



epigram to his memory has been imitated by Ben Jonson on Drayton's tomb in Westminster Abbey:—

“Divine Euripides ! this tomb we see  
So fair, is not a monument for thee  
So much as thou for it ; since all will own  
Thy name and lasting praise adorn the stone.”

The poetry of Euripides is that of a new generation. His was an age of philosophy rather than of poetry ; the fire of genius was succeeded by cold speculative subtlety, and Euripides, like his contemporaries, delighted in sophistical ingenuity, brilliant antitheses, rhetorical ornament, language like that of the Athenian law courts, and an affectation of erudition and pedantry.

Although his softness sometimes charms and fascinates, his rhetoric produces the effect of coldness, and extinguishes passion ; whatever passion he excites is sensual ; he substitutes for the models of the oldest and purest masters the exaggerated sorrows, misfortunes, and corrupting softness represented in modern schools of painting.

The three great tragedians represent the natural law of progress in literary taste—the three phases of unreal mysticism, historic truth, and romantic fiction. The supernatural wonders of *Æschylus* are succeeded by the dignified and heroic but natural characters of *Sophocles* ; and these in their turn, as taste declines, give place to the romance of every-day life. The individual mind exhibits the same phenomena in the development and decay of the imaginative powers. The child delights first in the supernatural wonders of the fairy tale ; next he descends from the beings of

another world, and takes an interest in the lives of heroes and kings, as recorded in biography; and if his taste becomes corrupt, he can take no interest except in the love scenes, the exuberant incident, and the sparkling ingenuity of a novel. These three great poets had other competitors, such as Ion, Achæus, and Agathon; their descendants also wrote and exhibited tragedies. After their time tragedy gradually declined, and at length became a display of rhetoric rather than of poetry.<sup>1</sup>

Comedy (*the ode of the revel*) originated, like tragedy, in the rural festivals which were held at the conclusion of the vintage; it at first consisted of extemporaneous songs, accompanied by gestures like those of morrice-dancers and mountebanks. This amusement was introduced into Attica by Susarion, a Megarian. He amused the people of Icaria, one of the Attic boroughs, by exhibiting in a cart his company of strolling buffoons, who, instead of wearing masks, smeared their faces with the lees of wine. Hence comedy received its other name Trygœdia, or the *lee song*.<sup>2</sup> Comedy, in fact, preceded tragedy, for it was not until after this that Thespis conveyed in a similar manner from place to place his tragic company.

Epicharmus, a native of Cos, who resided at Megara, in Sicily,<sup>3</sup> was the first who wrote comedies. For this reason comedy is often said to have been of Sicilian origin, and Epicharmus has been considered its inventor. Phormis, his contemporary, and Dino-

<sup>1</sup> B. c. 356. Ol. cvi. 1.

<sup>2</sup> From τρύξ, τρυγὸς (tryx, trygos), lees of wine.

<sup>3</sup> About B. c. 540. Ol. lxi. 1.

lochus, his pupil, also wrote comedies at Syracuse, and almost at the same time Chionides and Magnes were writing and exhibiting comedies at Athens. The old Attic comedy exercised immense influence both for good and evil upon the public taste, morals, and opinions. It was the newspaper, the review, the satire, the pamphlet, the caricature, the pantomime of Athens. So scurrilous and personal did it become, that the representation of real persons upon the stage was prohibited by law,<sup>1</sup> and this law was again enacted through the influence of Alcibiades.<sup>2</sup>

Amongst the numerous writers of the old Attic comedy, Cratinus, Eupolis, and Aristophanes were the chief. Cratinus<sup>3</sup> was so fond of wine that he was nicknamed "Philpot" (*φιλοπότης*), and is celebrated for the bitterness of his satire. The comedies of Eupolis<sup>4</sup> were distinguished for their broad humour and personality. He is said to have fallen in a naval battle, perhaps at Ægospotami. Crates, another comic writer, flourished at the same time, and is said by some to have been the inventor of comic action.

All the extant specimens of Attic comedy are confined to a very few inconsiderable fragments and quotations, with the exception of the works of Aristophanes. Eleven of his fifty-four plays still remain. Aristophanes was a youth when the plague desolated Athens, and he lived to attain the age of seventy years; he was therefore the contemporary of Pericles, Sophocles, Euripides, Socrates, and Plato. He was born in the Attic borough of Cydathene, and was in

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 440. Ol. lxxxv. 1.

<sup>2</sup> B.C. 415. Ol. xci. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Born B.C. 519. Ol. lxxv. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Born B.C. 446. Ol. lxxxiii. 3.

early life the pupil of Prodicus the Sophist. Cleon, whom he vehemently attacked in his plays, brought an action against him, to deprive him of his civic rights, but without success. His stature was tall, his frame powerful, and his social temper made him universally popular.

The principal characteristic of his comedies, is grotesque parody—his language is sweet and harmonious, his style the purest Attic Greek, his poetical genius of a high order, but it is often defiled by coarseness, irreverence, and indecency. These, however, were the faults of his age, in which, from the separate and retired life of virtuous Athenian women, men were denied the refining and purifying influence of good female society; still, notwithstanding this grave fault, there shine forth in his works an honesty of purpose, a virtuous indignation at immorality, a love of loyalty, integrity, wisdom, and patriotism. The following is a translation of an epigram written in his honour:—

“ Once did the Graces wish for a shrine which never should perish,  
And as they sought, they the soul found of Aristophanes.”

## CHAPTER XXIII.

GREEK HISTORIANS—CADMUS, ACUSILAUS, HECATEUS, PHERECYDES—CHARON, HERODORUS, HELLANICUS—HERODOTUS—HIS TRAVELS—HE FREES HIS COUNTRY FROM THE TYRANT LYGDAMIS—READS HIS HISTORY PUBLICLY—MIGRATES TO THURII—HIS POETICAL GENIUS AND TRUTHFULNESS—THUCYDIDES—HIS LIFE—HIS HISTORY EPICAL IN FORM—HIS OWN ACCOUNT OF HIS HISTORY—HIS SPEECHES—HIS TALENTS—XENOPHON—HIS PARENTAGE—JOINS THE EXPEDITION OF CYRUS—EXILED—HIS MODE OF LIFE—CTESIAS—PHILOSOPHY—NEW SYSTEM OF EDUCATION AT ATHENS—THE SOPHISTS—SOCRATES.

THE first historian of the flourishing era of Greek literature was Pherecydes, a native of the little island of Leros, who lived during the Persian war; his predecessors, Cadmus, Acusilaus, and Hecataeus, were mere annalists, and not historians. His principal work was an account of Darius's Scythian expedition. Charon of Lampsacus, Herodorus of Heraclea, and Hellanicus of Mitylene, were but a few years older than Herodotus, and the last of these three is said to have been the author of a variety of works, but they contain so little of a pure historical character, and are so full of traditional genealogies, that the voice of antiquity has conferred upon Herodotus the title of the Father of History.

This delightful writer was born at Halicarnassus in Caria,<sup>1</sup> and spent twenty of the best years of his

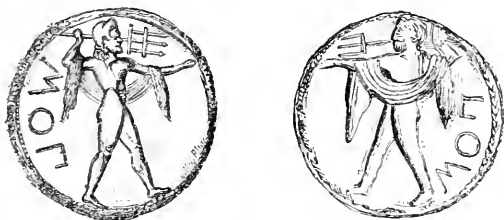
<sup>1</sup> Probably B. c. 484. Ol. lxxiv. 1.

life in foreign travel, and collecting materials for his history by personal observation, and by intercourse with the natives of those countries whose history he relates. All the knowledge which he thus acquired is grouped around the grand subject which occupied his mind, and excited his enthusiasm, namely, the struggles of Greece with Persia, and her final triumph over barbarian power.

In Egypt, which he probably visited early in the course of his travels, he pursued the course of the Nile as far as Elephantinè, diverging to the east as far as Cyrene, and to Arabia on the west. Whilst he was in Africa he gained information respecting Carthage and the nomad tribes of Libya. He traversed the whole of Greece with all its islands to the east and west as far as Thrace, penetrated into the wintry regions of Scythia, visited the Euxine and the Propontis, and thence caught a glimpse of the Palus Mæotis; Asia he knew from the coasts of the Ægean to Nineveh (*Koyunjik*), and Babylon (*Hillah*). He saw Tyre, and Jerusalem, which he calls Cadytis, a name evidently connected with the Arabic word El-Kodesh (*the Holy*), and during his stay in Palestine, was told of the defeat and death of Josiah at Megiddo,<sup>1</sup> and the march of the conqueror, Pharaoh Necho, to Jerusalem. He described Ecbatana (*Hamadan*) the capital of Media, with the accuracy of an eye-witness, and visited the royal city of Susa, with its road to Ephesus, which took three months and three days to traverse. Thus far to the east did his travels extend, whilst to the westward he must

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings, xxiii.

have reached the cities of Magna Græcia in Italy, and the islands of the Mediterranean.



Didrachma of Magna-Græcia.

When he returned from his travels, his views enlarged, his mind enlightened, filled with hatred of despotism and enthusiastic love of free institutions, he found his native country crushed beneath the yoke of a tyrant. He therefore fled to Samos, where he found a congenial spirit in that friend of liberty, Sophocles, and learnt still more to sympathise with the politics and free institutions of Athens. Putting himself at the head of a band of patriots, he succeeded in liberating his country from the tyrant Lygdamis. Immediately upon the overthrow of the tyrant, Halicarnassus became a prey to opposing factions, with neither of which Herodotus could sympathise; he therefore left his native soil for ever, and migrated to Athens.

It is said by Lucian, though without much probability, that he read his nine books, which from their sweetness and poetic spirit were named after the nine Muses, in the presence of the Hellenic nation assembled at the Olympic games. It is added likewise, that Thucydides, then a boy, was present, and was so

affected with the narrative that he burst into tears. Although this tale is not supported by trustworthy authority, there is no doubt that twelve years after the date of this story he read portions of the work to the Athenians at the festival of the Panathenæa. We can easily imagine the historian, almost with the inspiration of an epic poet, charming a circle of listeners, just as a story-teller in Italy in the present day will gather round him a little band in mute attention; we can fancy his simple but affecting tale of Greek heroism and struggles and triumphs, illustrated by his episodes of foreign travel, his descriptions of distant lands, his marvellous legends.

In the latter part of his life he joined the colonists who were migrating to Thurii, where, from his recording many events which took place subsequently to his emigration, it is clear that he completed and arranged his great work. The time of his death is uncertain, but circumstances related in his history show that he must have attained at least the seventy-seventh year of his age. Herodotus combines the spirit and truthfulness of the historian with the genius and picturesque power of the poet. He has been called the Homer of historians; and his work is indeed a complete epic; his digressions are its episodes. As his narrative is candid and unostentatious, so his style is simple and natural. Delighted as he is with everything mythical, fond of the marvellous, and credulous with respect to what others told him, he is truthfulness itself wherever his own personal observation is concerned.

His errors in geography and natural philosophy are



not those of culpable ignorance, but the result of limited opportunities and the infancy of science, and many are the instances in which his care and accuracy have been satisfactorily established by subsequent investigations and discoveries. The history of Herodotus, moreover, is marked by deep religious feeling; in the affairs of nations as well as of individuals, he always seems to realize the presence of the Deity, the moral government of the world by a superintending Providence. The great lesson which the history of mankind teaches him is, that the Deity is the rewarder of virtue and the punisher of vice, that he resists the proud and is gracious to the humble.

We now come to the thoughtful inventor of philosophical history, Thucydides.<sup>1</sup> He was the son of Olorus, an Athenian citizen of ancient and honourable family; it is said that he studied philosophy under Anaxagoras, and rhetoric under the orator Antiphon. Though he did not take any part in politics and public business, the Athenians entrusted him with the command of their fleet at Thasos,<sup>2</sup> and whilst there he was summoned to the relief of Amphipolis against Brasidas. Unfortunately he arrived too late, and found the Spartan general already in possession of the place. The Athenians impeached him, and he therefore left his native land, and retired first to Ægina, and afterwards to Thrace, and remained in exile twenty years. It is not impossible that the severity with which the Athenians visited upon Thucydides his ill success, was partly

<sup>1</sup> Born about B. C. 471. Ol. lxxvii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 424. Ol. lxxxix. 1.

owing to political prejudice. His opinions must have been unpopular. One cannot read his works without seeing that his political bias was rather against democracy, and that he saw excellences in the Spartan constitution which he missed in that of his own country.

During the period of his exile, he arranged the materials, and composed great part of his history of the Peloponnesian war. He did not, however, live to finish it, for it breaks off in the middle of the twenty-first year. Some accounts state that he died in Thrace, others that, together with other exiles, he was permitted to return to Athens,<sup>1</sup> and fell by the hand of an assassin. His countrymen erected a monument to his memory.

Like the history of Herodotus, that of Thucydides is also epical in its form; he considers his subject as one complete whole, and to this narrative the digressions necessary to illustrate it form episodes. In some portions of his work, the dramatic character mingles with the epical. As a historian his authority is invaluable, because he possessed that knowledge which personal observation could alone supply, and that truth-loving honesty which could not be corrupted, or even blinded, by party politics or prejudiced views. "What I have written," he says, "is founded, not on mere reports or notions of my own, but on personal knowledge wherever it was possible, and in other cases, on a laborious and accurate examination of the testimony of others." The speeches which he attributes to his principal characters form the most striking feature in

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 404. Ol. xciv. 1.

his history; they doubtless convey his own political views, and those of the two great opposing parties in Greece, at the same time that they fairly represent the sentiments of the eminent men who are supposed to deliver them. "I have reported them," he writes, "according as I thought most suitable to the speaker, and to the occasion, keeping, however, as closely as possible to the general sense of what they actually said."

He fully appreciated the importance of the task which he had undertaken. He saw that upon the result of this war, in which the two great Hellenic races, the Ionian and Dorian, were pitted in deadly conflict, depended the ascendancy of Athens or Sparta, and of freedom and progress as represented by the former, and oligarchical institutions as represented by the latter. He saw that it was a war of opinion, and therefore entered fully into the political as well as the overt causes which led to its breaking out; he traces the influence of political principles as they vibrated this way or that, and rose or fell throughout the whole course of it. But, unlike Herodotus, he does not consider divine interference as falling within his scope or province; his agents are all human, the generals, statesmen, orators, demagogues of his time.

His style of writing is as vigorous as his tone of thought. It is sometimes obscure, but its obscurity arises from the copiousness of his ideas; the rapidity with which his thoughts succeed one another surpasses his power of expressing them. No writer, with the exception of the Roman historian Tacitus, whose tone of mind and style of writing bear a

great resemblance to his, ever surpassed him in the power of expressing the greatest number of thoughts in the fewest words. Nevertheless, concise as his style is, he possessed great graphic power: his descriptions are deeply interesting—the details of the plague at Athens, the heroism of the Plataeans, the account of the Coreyrean sedition, and of the disastrous Sicilian expedition, are remarkable examples of his descriptive power. To these talents he added keen perceptions, an accurate knowledge of human nature, moral wisdom, and political sagacity. His immortal work, which as he himself tells us he composed not as a mere prize essay for momentary entertainment, but as an eternal possession, is that of a statesman and a philosopher.

The work which Thucydides left unfinished was completed by Xenophon,<sup>1</sup> his superior in gracefulness of style, but his inferior in vigour and depth of thought. He was the son of Gryllus, an Athenian: he began life as a soldier, and at the battle of Delium, having fallen from his horse, was borne from the field on the broad shoulders of the philosopher Socrates. To him he owed not only his life, but all his moral training and philosophical principles.

When Cyrus the younger made his expedition against Artaxerxes Mnemon,<sup>2</sup> Proxenus, a friend of Xenophon's who lived at Sardis, wrote to invite him to join the enterprise as a volunteer. This step was scarcely consistent with Athenian patriotism, but he was influenced by the persuasions of his friend, and his tutor

<sup>1</sup> Born about B. C. 447. Ol. lxxxiv. 1.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 401. Ol. xciv. 4.

Socrates, whose advice he asked, made no objection. The circumstances of this expedition will be related in the course of this history. After its termination, Xenophon was not permitted to return to Athens, for his political principles, and his attachment to Sparta, caused a sentence of exile to be pronounced upon him. The Spartans gave him an estate near Olympia, and in that retreat he spent his time in literary leisure, and the active pursuits of a country gentleman. His employments were hunting, entertaining his friends, and writing history.

Besides minor works, he left to posterity, (1) the "Anabasis," a lively and graphic description of the retreat of the Ten Thousand; (2) the "Hellenica," a truthful but uninteresting continuation of the history of Thucydides as far as the Battle of Mantinea; (3) the "Cyropædia," an historical romance founded on the early life of Cyrus, and exhibiting his notion of what a model prince ought to be; (4) the "Memorabilia" of Socrates, a collection of aphorisms which represent the practical side of the Socratic philosophy. Late in life Xenophon was deprived of his rural abode by the Eleans, and removing to Corinth died there, having attained the advanced age of ninety.

The character of Xenophon presents in a remarkable manner a well-balanced condition and equable development of the religious and moral sentiments, and the intellectual powers. It was this nice adjustment of the natural faculties which qualified him so well for the active business of life, and made him a practical man and not merely a contemplative

philosopher. In political opinions he sympathised with Sparta rather than with Athens, and he was also a Spartan in endurance and fortitude. When the news was brought to him that his son Gryllus had fallen at Mantinea, he was engaged in offering sacrifice. Overcome at first by the shock, he took the chaplet of flowers from his brow; but when the messenger told him that his son had fallen fighting bravely, he calmly replaced it without a tear, and continued officiating. A similar instance of heroism is recorded of the brave Corsican, Renuccio della Rocca. He was urging his countrymen to rise against their Genoese oppressors, when his young son, who had just been accidentally killed, was brought to him in the agonies of death. The sight of the dying youth did not interrupt his patriotic enthusiasm. He finished his speech unmoved, and faltered not until he had discharged his public duty.

The last of the Greek historical writers belonging to this period was Ctesias.<sup>1</sup> He composed a history in Ionic Greek of the Assyrian and Persian monarchies, which was largely consulted by Diodorus, as well as a shorter work on the natural history of India. An analysis of both these works is extant by Photius, the Byzantine, but neither of them appears to have been of much value.

The growth of Greek philosophy was much less rapid than that of poetical or even of historical literature. When the Attic drama was represented by Æschylus, philosophy was almost in its infancy, and its flourishing period did not commence until

<sup>1</sup> About B.C. 400. Ol. xcv. 1.

the time of Socrates. The earliest philosopher of the period now under consideration was Diogenes of Apollonia in Crete.<sup>1</sup> He belonged to the Ionian school, and his theories strongly resembled those of Anaximenes. Anaxagoras of Clazomenæ was born about the time when Diogenes flourished.<sup>2</sup> He was the tutor of Pericles and Euripides, and is said to have made some approach towards discovering the cause of solar and lunar eclipses. Zeno of Elea and Empedocles of Agrigentum were contemporaries.<sup>3</sup> The former was author of four celebrated paradoxes or philosophica puzzles, of which that of Achilles and the tortoise is the best known.

The natural philosophy of these early schools was scientifically worthless. Its only value is historical, as a monument of human labour and intellectual ingenuity, and as illustrating the active powers of human thought. This, however, was not the case with Greek mental and moral philosophy, which soon attained so high a degree of perfection, that it can never be superseded by modern investigations. Its home during its flourishing period was, like that of literature of other kinds, at Athens. Her political supremacy led also to her literary and philosophical preeminence. But although in the middle of the fifth century before the Christian era Athenian literature had attained its zenith, virtue was rather a matter of taste than sentiment; and during the Peloponnesian war the tone of public morality had become low and depraved.

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 498. Ol. lxx. 3.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 500. Ol. lxx. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Flourished about B. C. 464. Ol. lxxix. 1.

This state of things naturally produced an effect upon Athenian education: the old system which taught Athenians their duties as soldiers and citizens was voted out of date, and unsuited to the times, and a new system came into vogue, which substituted showy accomplishments for moral principles. Into this educational system the "Sophists" threw themselves at once; they lectured in philosophy and rhetoric; they professed to fit their pupils for public life, to sharpen their wits, to make them eloquent orators and expert dialecticians. It was from this substitution of that which was showy and superficial for solid knowledge that the name "Sophist," which these teachers were proud to bear, fell deservedly into disrepute in the time of Socrates and his successors. They themselves were able men, and by no means shallow pretenders to learning: Hippias of Elis possessed varied accomplishments and versatility of genius; Democritus was an ingenious thinker, and learned in the philosophy of preceding ages; Protagoras had an extensive knowledge of politics and history; Gorgias was an enthusiastic student of natural philosophy.

As the philosophers accused them of demoralizing Athens, it is important to inquire how they fulfilled their duty as public instructors of the higher classes at Athens. First, they taught for pay, and for the sake of profit supplied only that kind of education which the public taste demanded. Thus they swam with the tide of popular error, instead of attempting to stem it at the risk of losing their popularity; their teaching was in mere accordance with the spirit of



the age, and not in advance of it. To represent, therefore, the Sophists as wilful and designing impostors, whose object was to corrupt public morality, is unjust; but it is not too much to say that by an education which answered their own ends they gave a negative encouragement to a vicious system, and thus hastened the advance of moral and political corruption.

To arrest the progress of this evil there was providentially raised up a teacher of righteousness in Socrates. He was a philosopher in the highest sense of the term, for he felt that he had a moral mission, and his life illustrated his philosophy. He never wrote anything, but his disciples, like those of our blessed Lord, treasured up his oral instructions. He founded no school, although all the subsequent celebrated schools of Greece were developments of his principles; he professed no regular philosophical system, but in the streets of the crowded city, when the policy of Pericles had assembled all Attica within the walls of Athens, his lessons were delivered as occasion called them forth, and were heard with devoted attention. His style of teaching was, like his face and figure, homely, sometimes even to vulgarity; but he possessed that rich fund of racy humour and sprightly illustration, which, as the examples of the old preachers at the time of the Reformation in England prove, is, when well directed, so effective a weapon in the hands of a popular instructor.

Socrates<sup>1</sup> was the son of Sophroniscus, a sculptor, and followed his father's profession. A group of the

<sup>1</sup> Born B.C. 468. Ol. lxxvii. 4.

Graces was shown in the Acropolis as his work. One day a wealthy Athenian, passing his father's studio, saw Socrates practising his art. He had



Socrates.

previously observed him at the lectures of Anaxagoras, and therefore kindly supplied him with the means of pursuing his philosophical studies. Study, however, did not distract him from his duties as a soldier and a citizen. His robust constitution braved the rigours of winter in the campaign of Potidæa, and

he afterwards served at Delium and Amphipolis. But his conviction was, that it was his vocation to regenerate society, and his devotion to his work was increased by a firm belief that he was acting under the direction of a daemon or divine monitor. In public affairs he took little or no part, but his interference on these occasions exhibited the courage and generosity of his character. When after the battle of Arginusæ the ten generals were unjustly condemned, Socrates, as one of the Prytanes, faced the furious clamour of the people, and refused to enrol the infamous decree. When Theramenes took sanctuary at the altar, Socrates interposed between the people and their victim; and lastly, when the Thirty appointed him with others to lead an innocent man, Leon of Salamis, to death, he fearlessly refused to obey their commands.

For twenty-five years he pursued his blameless and useful course unmolested, although in the early part of his career Aristophanes had attacked him as a Sophist, and had represented upon the stage, as objects of ridicule, his flat nose, prominent eyes, corpulent figure, and coarse attire. But when his age was threescore years and ten, Melitus, Anytus, and Lycon brought the following accusations against him:—(1) that he disbelieved in the national deities; (2) that he corrupted the youth. Although his persecution took this form, it was really political rather than religious. Impiety is a sweeping charge, easily made, and neither admitting nor requiring that definite and exact proof which is expected in other cases. Great men in all ages have fallen by charges

preferred under the pretence of religion. He was found guilty by but a small majority of his judges. In a body of dicasts as numerous as a full attendance in an English House of Commons, two hundred and eighty-one voted for his condemnation, and two hundred and seventy-six for his acquittal. Probably, if he had canvassed the compassion of his judges, instead of boldly and honestly avowing his true sentiments, he would not have been condemned. As it was, conscious of his innocence, he sought not to move pity, and concluded his sublime defence with the following words:—"It is time to depart; I to die, you to live; whose lot is the better is known to God alone."

When found guilty, he did not take the means to arrest judgment which the Athenian law allowed. Had he proposed the infliction of a severe fine upon himself he would probably have escaped capital punishment. But he only proposed a penalty of thirty minæ, and this was too small to be accepted. It so chanced that the sacred trireme had sailed for Delos on the day of his condemnation; and as no one could be put to death until its return, Socrates remained in prison thirty days. Means of escape were offered, but he refused, for, consistent to the last, he would not violate the law.

To the interval between his trial and his death we owe that conversation on the immortality of the soul which Plato has embodied in his *Phædo*, wherein he describes the last hours of this distinguished man. His cheerfulness never forsook him, and his last words, just before he drank the hemlock, show that

so far from being guilty of impiety he was willing to show respect to the religious institutions of his country. "Crito," he said, "we owe a cock to Æsculapius : do not neglect to pay it." So lived and died the greatest uninspired teacher of wisdom and virtue, whose faith in an unseen and unknown future was strong enough to look on death as the entrance to eternal life, who bore witness to the sincerity of his teaching by his life, and died a martyr not only to truth, but also to the principle of obedience to the laws of God and his country.

Socrates, by his force of character, exercised a greater influence over his hearers and over posterity than that of any other mere human teacher ; but he did not aspire to the title of master, or the right to unqualified submission to his dicta on the part of his disciples. He rather sought, by a skilful system of interrogations, called after him the Socratic method, to draw out their natural powers, and thus lead them to teach themselves. His teaching, too, was in every way irregular ; he was an out-door preacher, a moral missionary. He taught at all times and in all places, wherever he saw a favourable opportunity for inculcating lessons of virtue and obedience to the laws. His were fearful times ; they required that the seeds of moral virtue should be sown broadcast. His duty was to cast his bread upon the waters, and no man ever felt this duty more fully than Socrates. The disorganized and demoralized social state of Greece demanded an immediate remedy. The recognised teachers of youth, the Sophists, as has been already shown, were unfit to be leaders in critical times,

because they were only on a par with, not in advance of their age. They would not sacrifice to a sense of duty their own profit and popularity. Socrates saw the necessity of a complete moral regeneration, and he felt that even the devotion of all his energies was inadequate to make his countrymen good men and good citizens.

Socrates has been accused of undervaluing mathematical and natural science. But the truth is, he did so only comparatively. The times in which he lived made moral science of paramount importance. He thought, therefore, every moment lost which was not devoted to this study, and that self-knowledge is the first step to all other science. Coupled with the internal conviction that he was under supernatural guidance, and was constrained to pursue one path of duty, his estimate of moral science was not unlike that which leads the Christian teacher, without undervaluing secular knowledge, to think more highly of that which makes men wise unto salvation.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

ACCESSION OF ARTAXERXES—REBELLION OF CYRUS—HIS EXPEDITION—  
 BATTLE OF CUNAXA—CYRUS SLAIN—TREACHERY OF TISSAPHERNES AND  
 ARIÆUS—THE RETREAT COMMENCED—ARRIVAL IN SIGHT OF THE SEA—  
 SPARTAN CAMPAIGNS IN ASIA—ACCESSION OF AGESILAUS—SOCIAL  
 CONDITION OF SPARTA—HIS CAMPAIGN IN ASIA—HIS SUCCESSES AND  
 RECALL—DEATH OF TISSAPHERNES—INTRIGUES OF TITHRAUSTES—  
 CORINTHIAN WAR—BATTLE OF CORONEA—CIVIL WAR IN CORINTH—  
 SUCCESSES OF IPHICRATES—REVIVAL OF ATHENS—PEACE OF ANTAL-  
 CIDAS.

THE most eventful century in Greek history was now rapidly drawing to a close, and its concluding years were marked by an interesting and brilliant episode. Darius II., surnamed Nothus, was succeeded on the throne of Persia by his eldest son Artaxerxes Mnemon,<sup>1</sup> whilst Cyrus, the younger son, continued satrap of the Asiatic coast. The new king, suspecting his brother of treason, caused him to be arrested; but owing to the influence of the queen-mother, Parysatis, he was set at liberty; and at her instigation he determined to rebel against his brother, and usurp the throne.

A prince of his penetrating intellect could not have had the experience of Greek warfare which he

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 404. Ol. xciv. 1.

had enjoyed, without seeing the great superiority of Greeks to barbarians; it therefore naturally occurred to him, that his best policy was to secure the services of a body of Greek troops. On the other hand, the existing generation of Greeks had known nothing but war; they were wholly unaccustomed to the arts and employments of peace, and were, therefore, ready to fight as mercenaries under the banner of any leader who would engage them. Cyrus pretended that his object in raising this force was to quell an insurrection in Pisidia, and within three years after the accession of Artaxerxes, he succeeded in assembling at Sardis<sup>1</sup> a body of ten thousand four hundred Greek Hoplites, and two thousand five hundred light-armed troops, together with an Asiatic army one hundred thousand strong. The delightful account of this expedition, which was the first in which Greece carried the war into the territories of her old barbarian enemy, and paved the way for the successes of Agesilaus and Alexander, we owe to the historian Xenophon, who served in it as a volunteer.

At first, in order to keep up appearances, Cyrus marched from Sardis straight for Pisidia, but when he had arrived at Celænæ, he turned first northward, and then eastward to Tarsus in Cilicia. The Greek mercenaries, consequently, began to suspect what his real intentions were; but the artful prince succeeded in quieting them by falsehoods, and by promises of increased pay, and the army marched on to Issus, where an additional Greek reinforcement joined him, which had come thither by sea. Onward

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 401. Ol. xciv. 4.



the army marched, until at Thapsacus, on the Euphrates, Cyrus, for the first time, told them the whole truth. Murmurs of discontent then again arose, which Cyrus well knew how to appease. The river was forded without difficulty, and after a fatiguing march, the army halted in the plains of Babylon.

Their route now lay along the north bank of the Euphrates, until, near Cunaxa, they were met by Artaxerxes, at the head of an army amounting to nearly a million. Cyrus then drew up his men for action. He himself commanded the centre, and the Greeks formed the extreme right of the line. The Persian cavalry were opposite to the Greeks, and the king led the centre. The left wing of the army of Artaxerxes fled before the charge of the Greeks, without striking a blow; but the right wing, which extended far beyond the left of Cyrus, turned his flank, and although Cyrus charged gallantly, and wounded the Persian king, he was overpowered by numbers and slain. Throughout the day the Greeks were victorious, without the loss of a single man; but the barbarian troops of Cyrus were broken and defeated; and although the Greeks offered the chief command to Ariaeus, the friend of Cyrus, and even promised to support him if he would claim the throne of Persia, he declined, and resolved to retreat.

Negotiations for peace were now commenced on the part of Artaxerxes, and the satrap Tissaphernes promised to supply the Greeks with provisions, and to be their guide back to Greece. After some delay, he commenced the performance of his promises, and led them across the Tigris and its tributaries; but after

a short time, he insidiously fomented a quarrel between the Greeks and barbarians, which resulted in the treacherous imprisonment and assassination of the Greek generals and officers. Ariaeus was as faithless as Tissaphernes, and the poor Greeks found themselves in the utmost distress in a hostile land, surrounded by enemies, and without a single friend. But divine Providence raised up for them in Xenophon a champion and a deliverer. Professing to have received encouragement in a dream, he eloquently urged upon the officers the necessity for immediate efforts. He told them that they might reckon upon the aid of the gods, because the perfidious conduct of the barbarians was hateful in their sight; and when one officer proposed that they should throw themselves upon the mercy of the king, he indignantly exclaimed that he who could make so cowardly a proposal was fitter for a baggage-carrier than a soldier. The result of this animating harangue was that the army unanimously hailed him as their general.

The retreat now commenced along the north bank of the Tigris. They passed the cities of Larissa (*Nimroud*), and Mespila (*Mosul*), which were even then desolate and in ruins, and which were situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the still more ancient Nineveh. For seven days they fought their way, sword in hand, through the rocky defiles and mountains of the Carduchi (*Kurds*), these savage mountaineers disputing every pass. This warlike people, entrenched within their natural fastnesses, had successfully maintained their independence of the Great

King. For this reason the Greeks thought, that by selecting this route they would be safer from the pursuit of the Persians. When this danger was surmounted, and they found themselves on the frontiers of Armenia, Tiribazus, its satrap, opposed their further progress, whilst the savage Carduchi hung upon their rear.

When they had overcome the obstacles which were placed in their way, nature opposed still more frightful difficulties: it was now the depth of winter, and the high table-land of Armenia was covered six feet deep with snow; the biting blast swept across the waste; and after bitter sufferings, many perished from cold and hunger. A little more fighting awaited them, and then most of their trials were over. A mountain chain lay before them, and when the foremost ranks of the gallant band reached the ridge, they saw the waves of the Euxine rolling at their feet. THE SEA! THE SEA! they shouted: and men and officers rushed into each other's arms with tears of joy.

The inhabitants of Trapezus (*Trebizond*) gave their wearied fellow-countrymen a hospitable welcome; and after offering sacrifices of thanksgiving to the gods, they joyfully took part in those national games which reminded them of the common bonds which united Greek hearts to one another. At Trapezus they remained to make preparations for their voyage home; and when provisions began to fail, they marched to Cerasus, where they numbered their forces,<sup>1</sup> and found that eight thousand six hundred

<sup>1</sup> B. c. 400. Ol. xcv. 1.

still survived. From Cerasus, not without some opposition from the inhabitants of the intermediate country, they proceeded by land to Cotyora, and thence by sea to Sinope and Calpe. Cleander, the harmostes of Byzantium, had promised to transport them over into Greece: they accordingly waited for his arrival. When he came, he had no means of performing his promise; they therefore marched to Chrysopolis (Scutari), and thence crossed to Byzantium. Often during the latter portion of their route they had supported themselves by plunder and violence, and now they would have pillaged Byzantium, had it not been for the influence of Xenophon. It is unnecessary to dwell at length upon the further fortunes of the Ten Thousand, whose adventurous expedition and retreat lasted fifteen months. The remnant of them lent their swords for hire to Seuthes, a Thracian prince, (who was engaged in an attempt to recover his paternal dominions, from which he had been expelled,) and subsequently to their fellow-country-men the Spartans, and thus became amalgamated with the army of the Lacedæmonian harmostes,<sup>1</sup> Thimbron.

We must now return to the regular course of Grecian history, which has been interrupted by the above romantic digression. Whilst the long continuance of internal war had weakened the power of Greece, that of Persia, on the coast of Asia Minor,

<sup>1</sup> After the conquest of Athens, Lysander imposed upon all the states which had hitherto acknowledged the Athenian supremacy an oligarchical constitution, under the supervision of a Spartan governor. This officer was entitled *Harmostes*, or Regulator.

appears to have in proportion revived, and the minor Ionian cities submitted to the Persian satraps. The more powerful cities applied to Sparta, which was now, since Athens had lost her naval supremacy, the leading state in Greece, to help them in the maintenance of their independence. In compliance with this request Thimbron was sent to Asia, in command of a force of about five thousand men. He appears however to have been unsuccessful as a military commander, and was very speedily superseded by Dercyllidas, who was celebrated for his shrewdness and cunning. His campaign in Asia was a short and brilliant one. After wintering in Bithynia, he crossed over into the Chersonesus, and built a wall to protect the inhabitants from the invasion of the Thracians. He then returned to Asia, and concluded an armistice with the Persian satraps Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, as a prelude to a more lasting peace.<sup>1</sup> The conditions demanded by Sparta were, Greek independence in Asia, and by Persia, the recall of the Spartan harmostæ. Pharnabazus, however, craftily took advantage of the cessation of hostilities to strengthen his resources. He equipped a fleet of three hundred ships, and placed it under the command of the Athenian admiral Conon.

Whilst these events were occurring in the East, Agis twice invaded Elis, on the grounds that the Eleans had excluded the Spartans from the Olympic festival, and had also joined the Argive alliance. An earthquake put a stop to his first campaign, but in his second inroad he laid waste the country, and

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 397. Ol. xcv. 4.

compelled the Eleans to sue for peace. Shortly after this peace was concluded Agis died, and his son Leotychides having been set aside on suspicion of illegitimacy, Agesilaus, the half brother of the late king, succeeded to the vacant throne.<sup>1</sup>

He was small of stature, and lame; but these personal defects were more than compensated by Spartan endurance, simple manners, and unyielding courage. As a general, he was distinguished for his energy and ability, and as a king, for his attachment to the laws and institutions of his country. His self-denial, frugal mode of life, and contempt for grandeur and ostentation were truly Spartan; and he was wise enough, though king, to show the greatest respect for the senate and ephors. The commencement of his reign was disturbed by a conspiracy, the ringleader of which was Cinadon. At this time the citizens who were wealthy enough to support the expense of the public mess had become very few in number, and so wide a gulf separated them from their poor fellow-citizens, that although their political privileges were the same, they formed, socially speaking, two distinct classes. Those who belonged to the former of these were entitled Peers (*Ὅμοιοι*), those who belonged to the latter, Inferiors (*ὑπομέλεις*). The inferiors, restless and discontented, conspired, under the guidance of Cinadon; but the plot was discovered, and Cinadon and his leading accomplices put to death.

Agesilaus then, accompanied by Lysander, undertook a campaign in Asia. His army consisted of thirty Spartans, to act as his staff, or council of war, two

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 398. Ol. xcv. 3.

thousand Neodamodes, and six thousand allies. He fancied himself a second Agamemnon, and would, like the Homeric king of men, have set sail from Aulis; but the Boeotarchs drove him from their territory, and he was forced to proceed to Eubœa, whence he sailed to Ephesus.<sup>1</sup> No sooner had they arrived in Asia, than Lysander and Agesilaus quarrelled and separated. Tissaphernes ordered the Spartan king to leave Asia, but the latter, setting the satrap at defiance, marched into Phrygia, where he met with a repulse, owing to his deficiency in cavalry.

In the spring<sup>2</sup> he marched against Sardis, and meeting the Persian cavalry on the banks of the Pactolus, gained a decisive victory. He next attacked the satrapy of Pharnabazus, gained victory after victory, and subdued the whole district. Had not troubles which threatened Sparta at home caused his recall<sup>3</sup> from the scene in which he had gained so much distinction, his intention was to have followed up the advantages which he had gained by detaching the satraps from the interests of Persia, and assisting them to become independent princes. He had already made preparations during the winter for marching into the interior of the king's dominions.

The defeat of the Persians at the Pactolus had been visited upon the head of Tissaphernes. When the Persians experienced this disaster, the satrap was indolently wasting his time at Sardis. The court of Persia considered that he was to blame for this supineness, and he was deposed and put to death

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 396. Ol. xevi. 1.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 395. Ol. xevi. 2.

<sup>3</sup> B. C. 394. Ol. xevi. 3.

His successor, Tithraustes, was shrewd enough to see that his best policy was to foment discord and disunion amongst the Greeks themselves. The way was already prepared for him, since the pride and insolence of Sparta had rendered her supremacy as odious as that of Athens had formerly been. He therefore sent Timocrates, a Rhodian, to the leading states of Greece, in order to stir up a feeling of hostility to Sparta. The skilful disbursement of fifty talents soon caused the formation of a powerful league against her.

War first broke out between Thebes and Sparta, owing to a petty dispute between the Phocians and Opuntian Locrians, in which Thebes espoused the



Reverse of a Coin of  
Locris of Opunti.

cause of the latter, Sparta that of the former. Bœotia was the scene of war, and in an unsuccessful attack upon the town of Haliartus, the brave but intriguing Lysander was slain. An alliance was formed between Corinth, Argos, and Athens, which was afterwards joined by Eubœa and the principal states on the continent of Greece, and even by the Thracian Chalcidians. A congress of the allies was held at Corinth, and from this circumstance the war is commonly called the Corinthian. It was this menacing condition of affairs which led to the recall of Agesilaus. Sorely against his will, he obeyed the command of his country, crossed the Hellespont, and by forced marches reached Greece in thirty days. He had accomplished this task notwithstanding some opposition. The famous Thessalian cavalry threatened to dispute his progress, but by a skilful disposition



of his troops he intimidated them, put them to flight, and cut them to pieces. On his way, whilst at Amphipolis, he received the intelligence that a battle had been fought near Corinth, in which, although the allies of Lacedæmon were beaten, Spartan prowess had gained the day. Out of six hundred Lacedæmonians only eight fell, but their foes lost two thousand eight hundred men.<sup>1</sup>

This was in July, and on the 14th of August, a date fixed by an eclipse of the sun, he was on the Bœotian frontier, where the bad news met him that Pisander, his wife's brother, whom he had made admiral off the Asiatic coast, had been engaged with the Persian fleet under Pharnabazus and Conon, off Cnidus in Caria, and signally defeated. Agesilaus, fearing to depress the spirits of his soldiers, concealed from them the whole extent of the calamity, and told them that the Spartan fleet was victorious, although the admiral had fallen.

In the plain of Coronea, Agesilaus met the army of the confederate states drawn up in battle array. The action commenced by a charge on the part of the Thebans, who succeeded in making an impression upon the left wing of Agesilaus; but his right was victorious. There then ensued a most obstinate and bloody hand-to-hand fight. Agesilaus led the van, and was severely wounded, but victory declared for the Lacedæmonians. The Thebans acknowledged that they were defeated, by asking for an armistice to bury their dead. The successful general then

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 394. Ol. xevi. 3.

dedicated at Delphi a tithe of his Persian spoils, and sailing home to Sparta, disbanded his army.

The combined fleets of Pharnabazus and Conon followed up their victory with a most successful career. Wherever they appeared, the Spartan harmostæ fled before them; nor did they meet with a check until they arrived off Abydos. Dercyllidas, the harmostes in this town, was staunch, and they could do nothing. In the spring,<sup>1</sup> they made descents upon the coasts of Laconia, occupied Cythera, and then, aided by a grant from Pharnabazus, employed the soldiers and sailors in rebuilding the long walls which connected Athens with her ports. Before the year came to an end, the work was completed, and it appeared probable that Athens would again be able to maintain her maritime greatness, which Conon was endeavouring to re-establish. The Athenians, as a mark of their gratitude, erected a marble statue in honour of Conon, and likewise another to Evagoras, tyrant of Salamis in Cyprus, who had zealously cooperated with him in the work.

Corinth and the isthmus were still the theatre of war. The Spartan head-quarters were at Sicyon, and Corinth was sorely distressed by the devastation of her fields. Within the city there was bitter strife between two adverse parties, the oligarchical party being anxious for peace with Sparta, the democratical for war. The war party, taking advantage of the festival of the Eucleia, admitted a body of Argive troops within the gates, and were guilty of one of those bloody massacres which so often disgraced

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 393. Ol. xcvi. 4.

Greek cities. Those of their opponents who survived admitted Praxitas the Spartan general within the long walls which, like those of Athens and Megara, connected the city with its port, Lechæum. A battle was fought there, in which the Corinthians were defeated, and the Lacedæmonians opened a wide breach in the walls. The Athenians, seeing that this was the key to Attica, assisted the Corinthians in repairing the damage; but Agesilaus<sup>1</sup> got possession of the port, and, aided by the fleet, completely invested Corinth.

He did not, however, long enjoy the fruits of his successes. Iphicrates was commander of a corps of Athenian mercenaries, whom he had armed on an entirely new principle. They were equipped with defensive armour much less cumbrous than that of the hoplites, whilst their offensive weapons were longer and more effective than those of the light-armed troops. This was the introduction of an important improvement in the Greek art of war. Their general had on more than one occasion proved their efficiency. He had struck such terror into the Phliasians that they had begged the Spartans to send them a garrison, and his peltastæ (*targeteers*) had plundered Arcadia without meeting with any resistance on the part of the inhabitants; and now, at their head, he completely broke and put to flight a Lacedæmonian battalion (*mora*), six hundred strong. The consequence of this bold exploit was that Agesilaus evacuated the Corinthian territory, and Iphicrates

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 391. Ol. xcvii. 2.

retook most of the Corinthian towns which had surrendered to the Lacedæmonians.

The reverses which had befallen the Spartan arms, together with the rebuilding of the Athenian fortifications, alarmed Sparta, and made her tremble for the maintenance of her supremacy. Accordingly, Antalcidas, an able diplomatist, was despatched to Tiribazus, who was at this time satrap of Ionia, to negotiate a peace. The terms proposed were the most cowardly and disgraceful to which Greece ever stooped. They were no less than to secure the independence of the Greek states in the islands, and on the continent of Europe, by the sacrifice of the Asiatic Greek colonies to the empire of Persia. Notwithstanding the support of the satrap, the Great King would not listen even to such favourable terms as these. Added to this, Greece herself was by no means unanimous; for the representatives of Athens, Argos, Corinth, and Thebes were firmly and patriotically opposed to purchasing the friendship of the barbarians at such a humiliating price. For the present, therefore, Sparta was frustrated in her treacherous intrigue.

Other events which took place about this time contributed to place Athens again more upon a par with her old adversary, Sparta. Thimbron was defeated and slain in Ionia by Struthas, the lieutenant of Tiribazus, and some successful exploits of Thrasybulus<sup>1</sup> and Iphicrates<sup>2</sup> restored to the Athenians for a time the toll of ten per cent. upon all ships sailing out of the Euxine, and also the control of the Hellespont. But in the following year the Athenians experienced

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 390. Ol. xcvii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 398. Ol. xcvii. 4.

a harassing annoyance close at home. The Ægeine-tans, under the command of Spartan leaders, began their old occupation of piracy, and even made descents upon the coast of Attica. On one occasion, Teleutias was sent from Sparta to quiet the sailors in Ægina, who were discontented at not receiving their arrears of pay; and in order to obtain money for the wages due, made a sudden night-attack<sup>1</sup> upon the Piræus, plundered some merchant-ships in the harbour, and brought off his booty, together with some prisoners, in safety to Ægina.

The equipoise between the two great rival states was again disturbed, and the balance began to be in favour of Lacedæmon. Antalcidas had secured the interest of Tiribazus, and thus fortified had renewed his negotiations. He had, moreover, sailed with so large a force into the Hellespont, that the Athenian corn-ships were intercepted. The Athenian reluctance to peace was overcome. Argos and Corinth were weary of war, and Sparta had her own way without opposition. A humiliating peace was made, by which the independence of the Asiatic Greeks was sold, the terms being actually dictated by the Persian king. All that Greece had so heroically fought for during her glorious struggles in the Persian war, was surrendered to the despotic will of the barbarian.

The results within Greece itself were highly favourable to the interests of Sparta. The terms of the treaty compelled Thebes to permit the independence of Bœotia, Argos to withdraw her garrison from Corinth, and Athens to cease from being the

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 388. Ol. xcviii. 1.

head of the confederacy. Thus ran the peremptory terms insisted on by Artaxerxes:—

“ King Artaxerxes claims as his right that the cities in Asia and the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus should be his ; that all the other Greek cities, great and small, should be left independent, except Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which, as of old, should belong to the Athenians. If any state refuses these terms, I will make war upon it by land and sea.” <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 387. Ol. xcviii. 2.

## CHAPTER XXV.

SPARTAN POLICY TOWARDS BÆOTIA, MANTINEA, AND PHLIUS—ATTACK ON OLYNTHUS—SURRENDER OF THE CADMEA TO SPARTA—OLYNTHUS CAPITULATES—CONSPIRACY AT THEBES—CONDUCT OF EPAMINONDAS—CONSEQUENCES OF THE CONSPIRACY—NEW CONFEDERACY FORMED—THE HOLY LEGION—PROPOSAL OF PERSIA—OPPOSITION OF PELOPIDAS AND EPAMINONDAS—CONGRESS AT SPARTA—PEACE OF CALLIAS—BATTLE OF LEUCTRA—FEELING AT SPARTA—JASON OF PHERÆ—FEDERAL UNION IN ARCADIA—ATTACK ON SPARTA—THE MESSENIANS RESTORED—SPARTAN ANECDOTE—THE TEARLESS BATTLE—THESSALY.

THE terms of that disgraceful peace which had been made through the instrumentality of the Spartans recoiled upon their own heads. They felt little inclination to permit the independence of their weaker neighbours, or even of more distant states of Greece. Their growing ambition, therefore, presented the principal obstacle to compliance with the conditions of the treaty. Whilst they aided the Bœotian states in establishing their independence, it was only the independence of Thebes that they secured. In each city was placed a Spartan garrison, and thus the cities of Bœotia became so many centres of Spartan and oligarchical influence. Selfishness was the only motive which dictated their policy throughout. Thus, whilst to annoy Thebes they restored Plataea, which they had themselves destroyed, they deprived the Mantineans of all power of resisting their own tyranny by

razing their walls and fortifications to the ground. Together with the form of a free city, they destroyed its free institutions, and by resolving it into five rural villages, delivered it into the power of a country aristocracy, who were willing subjects of Sparta. The reestablishment of oligarchy in Phlius, by compelling that state to recall the leaders of the Spartan faction who had been exiled, completed the supremacy of Sparta within the Peninsula; for Argos, though strong enough to maintain her independence, was at the head of no confederacy. Sparta now extended her grasping arms as far as Macedonia.

Acanthus and Apollonia, two cities in the peninsula of Chalcidice, had refused to join a federal union of which Olynthus was the head. This latter state, therefore, declared war against the recusants, and Acanthus and Apollonia sent ambassadors to Sparta to solicit aid. The Spartans were only too glad to embrace the opportunity of interference, and promised by the assistance of their allies ten thousand men,



Obverse.



Reverse.

Coin of Amyntas of Macedonia.

of which two thousand immediately marched, under the command of Eudamidas. He was joined by Amyntas, king of Macedonia, and immediately occupied Potidæa.



By this time the contingents of the Peloponnesian allies were ready, and were marching to the seat of war, under the command of Phœbidas, the brother of Eudamidas. When they arrived near Thebes, they found the democratic party, the leader of which was Ismenias, in the ascendant, and an alliance entered into with the Olynthians. Leontiades, the head of the Lacedæmonian or oligarchical faction, now sought an interview with Phœbidas, and offered to betray the city into his hands. The offer was accepted, and Leontiades, taking advantage of the festival of the Thesmophoria, during which the Cadmea, or citadel, was occupied solely by women, introduced the Spartan general into it. He then proceeded to the agora, and caused Ismenias to be arrested, brought to a sham trial, and put to death. Three hundred of his party fled to Athens, amongst whom was the patriot Pelopidas.

By this act of unjustifiable treachery Sparta was enabled to occupy Thebes with an armed garrison, and to force her to join in the Olynthian campaign. Notwithstanding some reverses, the Spartans continued the war with vigour during five years; in the fourth year of it,<sup>1</sup> their king, Agesipolis, died from the effects of the climate; and in the following year,<sup>2</sup> Polybiades blockaded Olynthus, and compelled it to surrender. The confederacy was dissolved, the supremacy of Sparta recognised, and the power of Macedon received an important accession by the restoration of the commercial towns on the sea-coast to her dominion.

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 380. Ol. c. 1.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 379. Ol. c. 2.

Sparta had now reached the acme of her power, but she had no sooner reached it than the decline of her glory began. Retribution first came upon her for her treachery to Thebes. Pelopidas, who was living in exile at Athens, arranged with Phyllidas, one of his political friends in Thebes, to invite the Polemarchs to a grand entertainment. Before the evening fixed for the banquet, Pelopidas, and a small number of confederates, entered Thebes in the disguise of huntsmen and labourers, and secreted themselves in the house of Charon, who was one of the conspirators. Hints of a plot reached the Polemarchs, and they sent an officer to summon Charon to their presence. Charon obeyed the order, and fearing that if the plot should be discovered, he might be suspected of being a traitor, he left his son, a very beautiful boy, in the hands of Pelopidas, as a pledge of his fidelity. He found the Polemarchs at table, persuaded them that the report which they had heard was false, and was dismissed on promising to make further inquiries.

They were still engaged in the banquet, in the midst of wine and revelling, when a letter from Athens was put into the hand of Archias, who was one of them, which contained full particulars; but, like Julius Cæsar, he neglected the warning, and laying it aside remarked, "Business to-morrow." When the night was well advanced, the conspirators were introduced in the dress of women, with wreaths round their heads, which served to conceal their features, and stabbed the Polemarchs to the heart. They next proceeded to the house of Leontiades,

who, after a desperate resistance, was overpowered and slain. The gaols were thrown open, the citizens flew to arms, an Athenian force which was on the Bœotian frontier came to their timely aid, and so promptly was the revolution carried out, that the garrison capitulated on condition of retiring without molestation. So bitter were the feelings of the conquerors, that they not only put to death the most obnoxious of their foes, but even visited their offences upon their innocent children.

When Pelopidas, who was a rich man, sought refuge in Athens, his dear friend Epaminondas, who had once saved his life at the risk of his own, remained at Thebes safe in the obscurity of poverty. On the formation of the conspiracy, Epaminondas was urged to join it, but he was too generous-minded to be an accomplice in a secret assassination. When, however, the deed was done, and the hopes of patriotism were awakened, he was one of the first to animate his fellow-countrymen in their struggle for liberty. Their struggle, too, was not only a successful one, but eventually influenced the political condition of all Greece; for from this conspiracy dates the commencement of the most glorious epoch in Theban history; and it also led to the war which crushed the power of Sparta, and overthrew her short supremacy.

The Spartans, however, immediately interfered, put to death two of the harmostæ who had surrendered the citadel, and sent an army against Thebes. The command of it was entrusted to Cleombrotus, who, after remaining in Bœotia sixteen days, re-

turned, leaving a third of his force with Sphodrias at Thespiæ. The Thebans were afraid that the Athenians would desert them, and in order to make friendship with Sparta impossible, bribed Sphodrias to invade the Athenian territory.

The Athenians were indignant at this unprovoked aggression, and as the author of it escaped punishment, they not only kept faith with Thebes, but declared war against Sparta.<sup>1</sup> They now formed a new federal union of seventy states, similar to that of which they were the head in former times; but aware that words are often quite as important as things, they called the fund which was to be contributed for the maintenance of the united navy, not, as before, *phoros*, or tribute, which seemed to imply inferiority on the part of the payers, but *syntaxis*, or an equitable assessment.

The Athenians themselves submitted, as in the Peloponnesian war, to the unusual expedient of a property tax, (*eisphora*,) built triremes, and repaired the fortifications of the Piræus. At Thebes the energy and wealth of Pelopidas were devoted to organizing a well-disciplined army, of which the most celebrated regiment was the Holy Legion, or *Lochus*, composed of young Theban patriots of the noblest families. Campaign succeeded campaign, and yet the arms of Sparta made no progress. Athens was gradually becoming much more powerful by sea. Pelopidas, at the head of the Holy Legion and a small body of cavalry, routed a Spartan force double in number, near Orchomenus;<sup>2</sup> and by the ensuing year,

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 378. Ol. c. 3.

<sup>2</sup> B.C. 375. Ol. ci. 2.

all the Bœotian towns were freed from the influence of Sparta.

But the growth of Theban power was too rapid for the jealous Athenians. They hastily patched up a peace with Sparta, which was scarcely ratified before it was broken. The king of Persia, who was about to send an expedition against his rebellious subjects in Egypt, thought that if peace was established in Greece, he would be able to secure the services of some Greek mercenaries; he therefore recommended the renewal of negotiations on the basis of the peace of Antalcidas.

To this the Thebans were resolutely opposed. Pelopidas and Epaminondas plainly saw that their supremacy over the Bœotian cities was already secured, and they were naturally averse to a treaty which would have guaranteed their independence. And so determined were the Thebans to remove every obstacle to their ambition, that they utterly destroyed the unfortunate little city of Plataeæ, razed Thespiæ to the ground, and burnt down Orchomenus, which was still under the sway of Sparta, massacred the male inhabitants, and sold the women and children into slavery.

Athens, however, and Sparta were not unwilling to treat upon the basis of the peace of Antalcidas, and a congress of the allies was summoned to meet at Sparta. Athens and Sparta, together with their respective allies, signed the treaty; but Epaminondas, who was the Theban representative, refused to do so, except on the part of Thebes as head of the Bœotian confederacy. Agesilaus angrily remonstrated, but

the only reply which Epaminondas vouchsafed was the question, whether he also would recognise the independence of the Laconian cities. The Spartan king was in a dilemma, and the Thebans were excluded from the general peace. This treaty is commonly called the peace of Callias, because he was the chief plenipotentiary from Athens.

Sparta and Athens immediately complied with the terms of the treaty, and the former then took measures for wreaking vengeance upon Thebes. Cleombrotus, one of the kings, who was with an army in Phocis, was ordered to march into Bœotia. Accordingly, with a force of ten thousand heavy-armed infantry, and one thousand cavalry, he took up his position near Leuctra.<sup>1</sup> The Thebans bravely met them and prepared to give them battle, although their army amounted to only six thousand men. Their commander-in-chief was Epaminondas, and Pelopidas was the leader of the Holy Legion.

In so unequal a conflict there was ample scope for the display of military science. The usual plan in Greek tactics was to extend the line as much as possible, and endeavour to turn the flank of the enemy. On this occasion Epaminondas drew up his left wing in a phalanx, or column, fifty ranks deep, opposite to the flower of the enemy's army. A charge of the Lacedæmonian cavalry commenced the engagement, but their steadiness and discipline were far inferior to that of the Thebans, and they were soon repulsed; and, falling back upon their own infantry, carried confu-

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 371. Ol. cii. 2.

sion into their ranks. The dense mass of the Theban left, with Pelopidas and his three hundred at its head, followed up the advantage which had been gained; the rout became general, and victory declared for the Thebans. The coolness and presence of mind of Epaminondas, and the gallantry of Pelopidas and his little band of patriots, were conspicuous throughout the day. The Theban loss was inconsiderable, but that of the Lacedæmonians amounted to four thousand men, and Cleombrotus himself was among the slain.

This was one of the most important and decisive battles in Greek history. It proved a death-blow to Spartan influence even within the Peloponnese, for the prestige which had long attended her arms was now gone. Even public opinion in Greece saw in this reverse the downfall of Sparta, and legends told that during the battle the shade of the old Messenian hero, Aristomenes, was beheld avenging his country's wrongs, and spreading carnage amongst the Spartan soldiery. Nevertheless, when the disastrous news arrived at Sparta, the people, with characteristic apathy, heard it with pretended indifference, and the Ephors would not even permit the festival of the Gymnopædia, which was going on at the time, to be interrupted. The following day witnessed a still sterner exhibition of Spartan patriotism. The friends and relations, nay even the brothers, of those who had fallen, congratulated each other with tears of joy, whilst the relations of those who survived were ashamed to appear in public, but mourned in secret as if their name and family were disgraced.

When the battle was over the Thebans sent to

Jason of Pheræ, who was Tagus or Duke of Thessaly, anxious with his support to complete the destruction of the Lacedæmonian army. He obeyed their summons without delay, but when he arrived he persuaded them to make a truce, and allow the remnant of their conquered foes to return home. On their march they met Archidamus, the son of the surviving Spartan king Agesilaus, bringing a force to effect their rescue.

The first blow struck at fallen Sparta came from the Arcadians; they first aided the Mantineans in again uniting their dismembered state into one fortified city, and then proceeded to form a new federal union of the Arcadian cities; a new capital of the united states was also built, called Megalopolis. This formidable combination alarmed the jealousy of the Spartans, and they marched an army against Mantinea under Agesilaus; but, although he laid waste the surrounding territory, he could not prevent the policy of the Arcadians.<sup>1</sup> Epaminondas now meditated planting another thorn in the side of Sparta. He determined to restore to their ancient fatherland the long-exiled Messenians. The growing power of Thebes had secured for her numerous allies, and she now found herself at the head of a powerful confederacy. From these Epaminondas and Pelopidas, in whom their countrymen reposed implicit confidence, raised an army and invaded the Peloponnese. They were immediately joined by many of the scattered Messenians, and, on entering Arcadia, the Theban force

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 370. Ol. cii. 3.



was increased to seventy thousand by the Arcadians, Argives, and Eleans.<sup>1</sup>

Onward the invaders advanced, and Sparta, which had no fortifications to resist the approach of an enemy, saw for the first time a hostile force in its immediate vicinity. Every effort was made: the Helots were emancipated, and six thousand admitted into the ranks of the hoplites, and owing to the vigorous energy of old Agesilaus the Thebans were compelled to give up their design upon the capital. Nevertheless they accomplished their purpose with respect to the Messenians, settled the political affairs of Arcadia, and within eighty days were in Bœotia again. The restored exiles erected their new capital, Messene, on the site of the ancient Ithome, the hallowed scene of their forefathers' bravery and patriotism.

The defence of Sparta on this occasion furnished an example of Spartan valour and Spartan discipline. Just as the attack began, a youth was engaged in anointing himself for the gymnasium. Naked as he was, and armed with a spear and sword, he rushed into the *melée*, hewed his way through the enemy's lines, and, after performing prodigies of valour, returned without a wound. The Ephors rewarded his valour with a robe of state, but fined him one thousand drachmæ for his disobedience to the laws, in going into action without a shield or other defensive armour.

Sparta in her distress applied to her old rival, Athens, for aid, and she generously despatched a force

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 369. Ol. cii. 4.

under the command of Iphicrates, who in vain attempted to cut off the retreat of Epaminondas to Bœotia. Moreover, in the following year Epaminondas returned and gained a victory over the combined armies of Sparta and Athens. Dionysius also, the tyrant of Syracuse, furnished the important succour of twenty triremes and a body of fifty cavalry to the crippled Spartans, and with his help a gleam of their ancient glory seemed to shine forth again. They fought a battle with the united forces of the Arcadians and Argives, in which history tells the almost incredible tale that ten thousand of the enemy were slain, without the loss of a single Lacedæmonian. For this reason the action has been distinguished by the name of the "Tearless Battle."<sup>1</sup>

A third time<sup>2</sup> Epaminondas invaded the Peloponnese, and attached Achaia to the Theban confederacy; but the advantage gained was not permanent. The Thebans established magistrates similar to the Spartan *harmostæ* in each town, and the Achæans in disgust made an alliance with Lacedæmon.

A few words must now be devoted to the course of parallel events which were taking place in Thessaly. Jason of Pheræ, who was a prince of great ambition and considerable ability, appears to have entertained some idea of taking advantage of the distracted state of Greece, and by assuming a leading position at the Pythian festival, to pave the way for his own supremacy. His ambitious designs, however, were cut short by assassination. His brothers Polydorus and Polyphron, men very inferior in talent,

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 367. Ol. ciii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 366. Ol. ciii. 3.

followed him, and they met with the same fate. Alexander then succeeded to the tyranny of Pheræ and the dukedom of Thessaly, and administered the government with a cruel despotism. The oppressed Thessalians sent to Thebes for aid, and the brave and ardent Pelopidas persuaded his countrymen to send him with an army into Thessaly to crush the despot. His troops were far less numerous than those of Alexander, but a sanguinary battle was fought on the ridge of Cynoscephalæ (*The Dogs'-heads*). The Thebans conquered, but their gallant leader fell in the moment of victory.<sup>1</sup> Having caught sight of the tyrant in the midst of his body-guard, he had, with his usual chivalrous valour, challenged him to single combat. This challenge Alexander declined. Pelopidas, therefore, rushed upon the guards, and, in his endeavour to cut his way through them, fell covered with wounds. Even amidst the excitement of victory, grief filled the camp, and the Thebans by a public funeral evinced their sense of the loss of one who not only led them to victory, but had also taught them the art of war. Thebes followed up this advantage by driving Alexander out of Thessaly, and compelling him to acknowledge her supremacy. Like his predecessors, he also died by assassination, after a reign of eleven years.

For the fourth and last time Epaminondas made a descent upon the Peloponnese. He took up his position at Tegea, whilst the head-quarters of the enemy were at Mantinea.<sup>2</sup> A plain lay between

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 364. Ol. civ. 1.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 362. Ol. cv. 3.

them, across which the Theban general marched, and halted just in sight of the foe. Attacking him suddenly before he had time to make preparations for resistance, a decisive victory was soon won. As at Leuctra, the Lacedæmonians and Mantineans could not stand the charge of the deep files of the Theban phalanx. Like his friend Pelopidas, Epaminondas fell transfixcd by a javelin, just as his troops were putting to flight those of the enemy. He would not allow the weapon to be extracted from the wound, until he was informed for certain that the Thebans were victorious. He lived just long enough to receive the joyful intelligence, and then immediately expired. Whilst the javelin was being drawn out, his friends lamented that he died childless; his answer was, that he had two daughters, Leuctra and Mantinea. His last words to those who stood around him were, "You must make peace." His advice was taken, and peace was made throughout Greece.<sup>1</sup> The Spartans however refused to join in it, because it secured the independence of their revolted subjects the Messenians.

No hero in Greek history deserves the title of great better than Epaminondas. He exhibited decision in his counsels, and rapidity and resolution in executing them. Not a single speck of selfishness blemished the purity of his patriotism. He laid the foundation of the greatness of his country, and when he fell she was no longer able to maintain her supremacy.

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 361. Ol. cv. 4.

Spartan greatness also, and her veteran hero Agesilaus, expired simultaneously. He was now eighty, but he led an army into Egypt to aid the rebel king Tachos against Persia. On his return home he died, and his body was brought to Sparta for burial.



Caryatid Figure, from the Erechtheum, Athens.



Coin of Acanthus Macedonia.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

POSITION OCCUPIED BY ATHENS—KINGDOM OF MACEDON—PERDICCAS III.—  
PHILIP—HIS ENERGETIC POLICY—DEFLECTIONS OF THE ALLIES OF ATHENS  
—SOCIAL WAR—HOLY WAR—ITS ORIGIN—DEATH OF PHILOMELUS—  
INTERFERENCE OF PHILIP—BATTLE NEAR MAGNESIA—PHILIPPICS OF  
DEMOSTHENES—PHILIP LANDS AT MARATHON—AFFAIRS OF OLYNTHUS—  
OLYNTHIAC ORATIONS—SURRENDER OF OLYNTHUS—EMBASSY TO PHILIP  
—END OF HOLY WAR.

THE wars of Greece were conflicts of races and of opinions, in which the two great dominant states, Athens and Sparta, represented the one the democratical, the other the oligarchical principle. But Thebes represented nothing; she owed her temporary supremacy solely to the abilities of an individual mind; and when she was deprived of that guide, she relapsed into her former state of insignificance. Epaminondas crushed Sparta, and during his life upheld Thebes; but when he died, Thebes had no principle of stability in herself. Athens, therefore, at the critical period which followed the battle of Mantinea, found herself by the fall of her two rivals almost in the position which she occupied after the Persian war.

But she was now no longer qualified for her post. The conflict with Persia for national existence had nursed her heroic spirit in common with that of the rest of Greece. The incessant struggles of the Peloponnesian war had kept its flame alive; but now that she had no rival worthy of her, she fell into listlessness and self-indulgence. The citizens of Athens became idle and luxurious; they preferred receiving pay at home for attending the Ecclesia and the courts of law, and amusing themselves at the theatre, to fighting for their country. Athenian spirit and patriotism were no more. The armies of Athens were no longer a native militia, but were principally composed of mercenary troops who did not care for whom they fought provided that they were paid. Like the Swiss in more modern times, these *Xeni*, as they were called, were ready to sell their services to the highest bidder; and if the temptation were adequate, would as willingly have fought against Athens as for her.

Whilst the leading state in Greece was thus gradually becoming disqualified for maintaining a successful struggle with any formidable antagonist, the whole nation, owing to the long duration of internal dissensions and jealousies, was unlikely to unite effectually against the aggressions of a common foe. As Greece rose to its highest pitch of glory not merely by its united action, but by the subordination of the inferior states to the more powerful ones, who were qualified for exercising an *Hegemonia*, or supremacy, so its decline dates from the period when this political phase of affairs no longer existed.

Thus it came to pass, that when no state was in a position to take the lead in the political affairs of Greece, and there was no internal power strong enough to hold all the parts firmly together, any violent shock from without was capable of shaking to the foundation the whole fabric of Greek union.

The time of trial came at length, and from a quarter little expected. The barbarian (that is, the Non-Hellenic) tribes which inhabited Macedonia, had been for centuries reigned over by sovereigns of Hellenic blood. They claimed their descent from the royal family of Argos, and succeeded in subjugating the original inhabitants, and in laying the foundation of a powerful monarchy. This monarchy resembled that of the old Homeric sovereignties and of the constitutional government of Dorian Sparta. It was hereditary, but limited by a privy council and a national assembly. At the time of the battle of Mantinea the throne of Macedon was occupied by Perdiccas, the third of that name. The last years of his reign were disturbed by an invasion of his neighbours the Illyrians, a hardy and warlike people, probably descended from the same common stock with the aboriginal Macedonians. In a battle with them he was slain,<sup>1</sup> and his brother Philip II., then only twenty-three years of age, usurped the throne, to the exclusion of his infant nephew.

This great man was in his youth one of the hostages given to the Thebans when peace was ratified by Pelopidas; and during his residence at Thebes became acquainted with Greek literature and

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 359. Ol. cv. 2.



civilization. Not only was his mind thus ripened, but he was also imbued with the artful subtleties of Greek politics, and with Theban military science in its improved form. Doubtless the celebrated Macedonian phalanx, which proved so powerful an engine against Greek military tactics, owed its origin to the insight which Philip had gained into the system of Epaminondas, and from the Theban system also he took the idea of a standing army, which he established on taking possession of his kingdom. His courage was undaunted, his bearing frank, his eloquence natural, his manners engaging; his ambition was tempered by wisdom, his energy by caution; he united in himself the qualities of a brave soldier, a shrewd diplomatist, and an able politician.



Coin of Philip II.

The first proof which he gave of his abilities as a general was in a campaign against the Illyrians, over whom he gained a complete victory, and thus secured his western frontier. Safe from the attacks of foes near home, he now directed his ambitious designs to ridding himself of the Athenian dominion on the eastern side of his kingdom. After some skilful negotiations, in which he artfully played both with the Athenians and Olynthians, he besieged and took Amphipolis,<sup>1</sup> forced Pydna to capitulate, wrested Potidæa from the hands of the Athenians, and, by giving it to the Olynthians, secured their alliance and friendship.<sup>2</sup> Crossing the Strymon, he next made himself master of the rich gold mines of Mount Pan-

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 358. Ol. cv. 3.<sup>2</sup> B. C. 356. Ol. cvi. 1.

gæus, which yielded him an annual revenue of one thousand talents, and founded a new city, which he named Philippi. By this unremitting activity, and by never overlooking an opportunity of extending his influence abroad and strengthening his resources at home, he fitted himself slowly but surely, firstly, to become the antagonist of Greece, and, secondly, to fill the vacant place of supreme governor.

The energy and good fortune of Philip rendered him a formidable enemy; but there were also other difficulties with which Athens had to contend at the same time. The taxes levied upon the allies became a source of discontent, and Rhodes, Chios, Cos, and Byzantium, together with Mausolus prince of Caria, formed a confederacy and threw off the Athenian yoke.<sup>1</sup> The Athenians forthwith sent a fleet of sixty triremes, under the joint command of Chares and Chabrias, to quell the revolt. They laid siege to Chios, but after fighting an unsuccessful battle, in which Chabrias was slain, the siege of Chios was raised.

In the following year the allies attacked Samos and plundered Lemnos and Imbros, and an Athenian fleet was despatched to stop their progress, under Chares, Timotheus, and Iphierates. Chares, however, did not receive from his two colleagues the support which he had a right to expect; he therefore impeached them, and both were cashiered, a fine of one hundred talents being also inflicted on Iphierates. But although Chares had got rid of his colleagues, he found a new obstacle in his mercenary troops. As the Athenians

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 358. Ol. cv. 3.

neglected to send them their pay, he could not command their services, and therefore he and his whole army entered into the service of the satrap Artabazus, who had revolted from Artaxerxes. The fear that this step might involve them in a war with Persia, induced the Athenians to purchase peace by surrendering their claim to the contributions of the rebellious allies. They therefore recognised the independence of the confederate states, and the war, which is called the Social War, or War of the Allies, ended after a duration of three years.<sup>1</sup>

This was a serious blow to the power of the Athenians; for, by the surrender of their claim, they at once reduced their revenue derived from this source to the comparatively small sum of forty-five talents. Contemporaneously with the last two years of the Social War, another, called the Holy War, was raging in Greece; and, as is the case with all religious wars, was carried on with savage and relentless fury. The following was its origin. The Phocians appear to have been guilty of some outrages in Bœotia, and the Thebans in revenge invoked the interference of the Amphictyonic Council, and accused the Phocians of sacrilege. It was alleged that they had cultivated the Cirrhæan plain, in which the town of Crissa had formerly stood, and which had, in the time of Solon and the first Holy war, been consecrated to the god of Delphi. A heavy fine was imposed upon the Phocians, and as they refused to pay it, their whole territory was confiscated to the god.

They, therefore, acting under the advice of an

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 355. Ol. cvi. 2.

eloquent orator, Philomelus, who also headed the expedition in person, took possession of the temple, oracle, and treasures of Delphi. Philomelus destroyed the brazen tablets on which the sentence pronounced on the Phocians was engraved; and when the Locrians came to the rescue, fortified the temple, and attacked and defeated the assailants. The vanquished Locrians obtained help from Thebes and Thessaly, whilst the Athenians and Spartans came to the assistance of the Phocians. The treasures of Delphi furnished Philomelus with the means of paying an army of ten thousand mercenaries, and of carrying on the war with vigour. Animated by a spirit of savage bigotry, the Thebans and Thessalians gave no quarter to the Phocians, as being guilty of sacrilege, and even refused them permission to bury their dead. They, in retaliation, pursued a similar course, and thus this war was perhaps the most barbarous which had ever disgraced Greek annals.

Notwithstanding the vast resources which the treasury of the temple placed at their disposal, and the help which they received from Athens and Sparta, the Phocians suffered severely, and twice their country was laid waste by a hostile army. In one great battle, in which they were signally defeated, Philomelus was severely wounded, and seeing no possibility of effecting a retreat, leaped down a precipice, in order to avoid falling into the hands of his enemies. He was succeeded in his command by his brother Onomarchus.

At this crisis of the war Philip first appears upon the scene. It was an opportunity by no means to be neglected for breaking the neutrality which he had

hitherto cautiously observed, and advancing his long-cherished scheme. He had besieged and taken the frontier town of Methone, and thus opened a way for himself into Thessaly. The inhabitants of Larissa then entreated him to relieve them from the oppressive despotism of the tyrants of Pheræ. They had espoused the cause of the Phocians, and therefore Onomarchus, when he heard of Philip's advance, sent a force under his brother Phayllus to ward off the attack which he meditated.

Phayllus was defeated, but being reinforced by Onomarchus in person, Philip was in his turn beaten and forced to retreat into Macedonia. Soon, however, he returned, and the powerful influence which he possessed in Thessaly placed him at the head of a numerous force both of cavalry and infantry. A battle was fought near Magnesia, in which the Phocians were defeated with great slaughter, and Onomarchus was slain. Pheræ surrendered, and Philip was thus supreme in Thessaly; nor did anything but the presence of the Athenian fleet prevent him from making his way into Greece, through the pass of Thermopylæ.<sup>1</sup>

In the rapid growth of Philip's power, the extent of his conquests, and the character which he had assumed of protector and defender of the Delphic god, the celebrated orator Demosthenes saw a formidable danger to Greek liberty. He therefore this very year, in the first of that series of stirring speeches which from their object are called *Philippics*, warned his countrymen of Philip's ambitious designs, and urged

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 352. Ol. cvii. 1.

them to oppose without delay an effectual barrier to his aggressive policy. They were, however, deaf to his advice, and Philip unopposed set up creatures of his own as tyrants in the principal towns of Eubœa. Two of them, Callias of Chalcis and Plutarchus of Eretria, revolted and sought aid from Athens. Phocion, that soldier-orator whose integrity was proverbially incorruptible, was sent to their support, but the tyrants played him false, and Philip's



Demosthenes.

influence in the island remained unshaken. Nearer still to Athens did Philip display his audacity, for he landed at the plain of Marathon and captured a sacred galley.

At length the peril and alarm of the Olynthians caused an open rupture between Athens and Philip. The Olynthians, although on good terms with Philip, had made a treaty of peace with Athens, and in it the confederate towns in the peninsula, of which Olynthus was the head, were included. For a time Philip was too much occupied to molest Chalcidice, but when his successes in the Phocian war and the supineness of Athens left him more at liberty, he made an attack upon one of the towns in the peninsula. This peril so near home alarmed the Olynthians, and they sent three ambassadors to Athens soliciting aid.<sup>1</sup> On this occasion Demosthenes stood forward as the leader of the war party, whilst Phocion, though single-minded himself, distrustful, not without good grounds, of the patriotism of his countrymen, gave his support to the peace party, which was corrupt and intriguing.

Demosthenes, in his three Olynthiac orations, advocated the claims of Olynthus upon Athenian sympathy, showed the necessity of immediate and vigorous measures in order to oppose the encroachments of Philip, and the importance of not only sending mercenary troops, but of the Athenians serving in person. His eloquence and arguments were successful. Three armies were accordingly sent, including two thousand Athenian citizens; but the generals, Charidemus and Chares, were inefficient, and the national councils were vacillating and uncertain. Philip, on the other hand, was prompt and energetic, as usual, and his gold bribed many of the Greek states to disloyalty. "Cities opened their gates, and

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 349. Ol. cvii. 4.

rival kings submitted to the bribes of the Macedonian monarch."<sup>1</sup> The support, therefore, which was sent from Athens proved ineffectual. Treachery surrendered Olynthus into the hands of Philip, who razed it to the ground and sold the inhabitants into slavery. His supremacy in Chalcidice was built upon the ruins of the other confederate towns, which were involved in the fall of the leading state.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile the Holy war still continued with unabated fury. The Phocians upon the whole seemed to have had the advantage, but still nothing decisive occurred. The Athenians, distressed by the expense of the Olynthian campaign, and wearied with fruitless warfare, were not indisposed for peace; and when Philip, probably with a view to gain time, seemed inclined to open negotiations, even Demosthenes recommended that an embassy should be sent to the Macedonian court for that purpose. Ten ambassadors were accordingly despatched, amongst whom were Demosthenes and his rival Æschines.<sup>3</sup>

What the exact terms of this treaty were is uncertain, but they were probably favourable to the Macedonian interest in Greece, and gold was not spared to purchase the assent of the envoys. When they returned to Athens, the people took an oath to observe the treaty. The ambassadors were then despatched a second time in order to receive Philip's ratification. Demosthenes, aware how advantageous procrastination was to Philip's policy, was anxious that the affair should be concluded without a moment's delay.

<sup>1</sup> Hor. Od. iii. 16.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 347. Ol. cviii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> B. C. 346. Ol. cviii. 3.



Æschines, however, bribed by Philip, permitted the embassy to await the king's pleasure, and to accompany him to Pheræ, after which Philip promised that he would swear to observe the conditions. Three months were thus purposely wasted, which gave the artful Macedonian an opportunity of adding considerably to his conquests. Demosthenes strongly protested against the conduct of his fellow-ambassadors, and accused Æschines of treason, but he successfully defended himself by his artful oratory, and with the less difficulty because his side was popular at Athens.

The crooked policy of Philip had also another motive besides that of gaining time. By appointing Pheræ as the place in which to ratify the treaty, he approached nearer to the scene of the Holy war, and was in a good position for invading Phocis, and thus assisting his friends the Thebans. No sooner had he parted from the Athenian envoys than he set out on his march for Thermopylæ. When he arrived on the Greek side of the pass, Phalæus the Phocian general treacherously purchased safety for himself by deserting the cause of his country. The ill-fated Phocians, misled by false hopes that Philip would intercede with the Amphictyons in their behalf, surrendered at discretion. The council assembled at Delphi passed a sentence upon them which utterly blotted out their national existence from the map of Greece. Their fortified towns were destroyed, and the inhabitants dispersed in small villages, and they were compelled to reimburse the treasury of Delphi to the extent of ten thousand talents, by an annual tax of sixty talents.

Their territory was laid waste, and ten thousand of the people were transported to Philip's new settlements in Thrace. They were pronounced for ever incapable of occupying a seat in the Amphictyonic Council, and their vacant place was assigned to the kings of Macedon. As for the rest of Greece, Sparta was excluded from her seat in the council likewise; the Thebans recovered possession of their Bœotian towns, and wreaked their vengeance upon those who had taken up arms against them; and, lastly, the presidency of the Pythian games was taken from the Corinthians, because they had supported the Phocians, and conferred upon Philip, conjointly with the Thebans and Thessalians. Thus ended this disastrous war, which established the power and glory of Philip on a strong basis, and made Macedon the leading state in Greece.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

STATE OF PARTIES AT ATHENS—INCREASE OF PHILIP'S POWER—WAR DECLARED—PHOCION APPOINTED GENERAL—PHILIP'S LIFE SAVED BY HIS SON ALEXANDER—PHILIP APPOINTED GENERAL OF THE AMPHICTYONS—HE SEIZES ELATEA—BATTLE OF CHERONEA—PHILIP'S CONDUCT AFTER THE VICTORY—THE TERMS OFFERED TO ATHENS AND THEBES—DEMOSTHENES PRONOUNCES THE FUNERAL ORATION—WAR DECLARED AGAINST PERSIA—PREPARATIONS FOR THE EXPEDITION—ASSASSINATION OF PHILIP—JOY AT ATHENS.

It is plain from the course of events that the consolidation of the Macedonian empire was due not only to the shrewdness and activity of Philip, but also to the listlessness and supineness which pervaded Greece, and to the corrupt dishonesty and want of patriotism which disgraced the political leaders. The influence of his gold was felt amongst the nations immediately engaged in the Phocian war, and penetrated even into the remoter regions of the Peloponnese. Athens was the only state which could have opposed a barrier to his progress with any reasonable prospect of success; but she seemed to be quite paralysed and incapable of being roused, and many of her influential statesmen and orators, such as Æschines, Eubulus, Demades, and Philocrates, were Philip's hirelings.

There was, indeed, a small band whose hearts glowed with indignant patriotism, and whose eyes were not so blinded as not to see with what danger

they were threatened. These would not be silenced, but boldly raised their voices, not only against Philip, but against the treacherous foes who were among the number of their own fellow-citizens. The representatives of this party were Phocion, Lycurgus, Hyperides, and, above all, Demosthenes. But for a long time their efforts to arouse the national spirit were unavailing. The rich were unwilling to contribute money to the exigencies of the state; the rest of the people would not exchange the enjoyments of home for the perils of foreign service. At this crisis, when engaged in hostilities with an absolute power, Athens experienced that which is the only evil of a free government. Prompt and vigorous action was impeded because the will of the people at large was to be consulted, and resistance to Philip depended upon the consent of an uncertain multitude. Philip, on the other hand, had no one to consult but himself, and he was anxious enough to push forward the frontier of his dominions. Nor were ample means wanting for carrying his designs into execution, for he had abundance of money, and could have as many mercenaries as he needed. At length, a point of national etiquette aroused the popular feelings. The Athenians could not brook the presidency of a barbarian power at one of their old Hellenic games, and refused to send representatives to them. Philip's dignity was compromised, and he sent envoys to remonstrate. The Ecclesia was so excited, that Demosthenes, the staunch advocate of war, seeing that war on such a point would be impolitic, warmly advocated peace.

Whilst quiet reigned in Greece, Philip was extending his empire. He completely subdued the Illyrians, who had still continued to harass his western frontier.<sup>1</sup> He reduced Thessaly to the condition of a province, divided it into four presidencies, and made himself master of the coast of Thrace, as far as the Danube.<sup>2</sup>

These movements seemed to threaten the security of the Athenian possessions in the Chersonese; but whenever Philip met with opposition, as his policy was not absolutely aggressive, he took up the position of the injured party and remonstrated. Demosthenes saw through this subterfuge, and earnestly urged the Athenians to an open collision. The event justified his view of the Macedonian policy, for Philip not only proceeded to attack the Greek settlements north of the Hellespont,<sup>3</sup> but even prepared to lay siege to Byzantium.

This step did at last alarm the Athenians, and arouse them from their lethargy. The powerful eloquence of Demosthenes showed them the folly of permitting him thus to command the Bosphorus. It was voted that Philip had violated the conditions of the peace, war was declared, and a fleet of one hundred and twenty triremes despatched to Byzantium.<sup>4</sup> Chares, to whom the command of the expedition was entrusted, was an incompetent officer and a worthless man, but by his arrogant effrontery he had gained the ear of the Ecclesia. The Byzantines distrusted and would have nothing to do with him. The orators

<sup>1</sup> B. c. 345. Ol. cviii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> B. c. 342. Ol. cix. 3.

<sup>3</sup> B. c. 341. Ol. cix. 4.

<sup>4</sup> B. c. 339. Ol. ex. 2.

in the interest of Philip tried to persuade the people that they had taken a false step in making war at all, but the honest and truthful Phocion refuted them, and he was, to the great joy of the allies, substituted in the place of Chares.

The signal success which attended this expedition reminds us of better times. Philip was forced to raise the siege and to evacuate the Chersonese. He then marched into Seythia, whence he was returning laden with spoil, when he fell in with a barbarian tribe called the Triballi, who demanded a share of the booty. This was refused, and a battle ensued, in which he was defeated and lost all his spoil, and would also have lost his life, had it not been saved by his son Alexander, then a youth of seventeen. He had scarcely reached home when he was met by an envoy from the famous Amphictyonic Council, who informed him that he was appointed commander-in-chief of their armies.<sup>1</sup>

The professed object of this appointment was that he should enforce a sentence of fine, which they had pronounced upon the Loerians of Amphissa, for sacrilegiously cultivating the same territory upon which the Phocians had trespassed before. Philip, however, made use of his high commission to advance his own interests; he took possession of Elataea, a town, from its frontier position, most important for any designs which he might entertain against Thebes or Athens. At the latter city his conduct caused the greatest possible alarm, and Demosthenes successfully exerted his eloquence to induce the Athenians to make an

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 338. Ol. cx. 3.

alliance with Thebes, as they had one common interest on this occasion. Philip also sent an embassy to Thebes with the same object, but in vain. In the alliance between Thebes and Athens, Corinth and other Greek states joined, and in a few weeks the united forces of the allies met the Macedonian army on the fatal field of Chæronea.

The Greeks numbered more than forty thousand men; the Macedonians thirty thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry. The Greek generals were Chares and Lysicles, men of inferior capacity, and even of questionable honesty; the Macedonians were commanded by Philip in person, and by his gallant son Alexander, who occupied the post of honour,—the wing which was opposite to the Theban “Holy Legion.” The spirits of the allies were raised by some slight advantages which they had gained in two skirmishes before the general action commenced, and at first they made some impression upon the ranks of the enemy; but following up their onset with inconsiderate ardour, they were thrown into confusion. Alexander charged gallantly at the head of the Thesalian cavalry, and, supported by the heavy Macedonian phalanx, decided the battle. Of the Athenians, one thousand were slain on the field, and twice that number were made prisoners. Demosthenes was amongst those who saved their lives by flight. Of the Theban “Holy Legion,” not one man survived.

This action gave the death blow to Greek liberty, and decided the fate of Hellenic independence for ever. In the first excitement of victory Philip’s joy knew no bounds. Flushed with wine and feasting, he danced

and sang upon the bloody field until he provoked the deserved rebuke from the orator Demades, who was amongst the Athenian prisoners, that, "occupying the post of an Agamemnon, he was acting the part of a Thersites." But when cool reflection came, the humanity and moderation with which he used his victory was at once consistent with the wisest policy and the truest greatness of mind; only for a moment he had been a barbarian, he was now a compassionate and magnanimous hero. He restored the Athenian prisoners without ransom, and would not suffer their effects to be plundered, and when he saw the corpses of the Holy Legion, he was so deeply affected that he burst into tears.

The intelligence of the defeat filled the Athenians with despair; they expected nothing less than that the city would be immediately besieged, and accordingly they made without delay vigorous preparations for defence, and the chief command was conferred upon Phocion. Demosthenes and Hyperides did their best to fan the flame of warlike and patriotic enthusiasm, and the former at his own cost repaired the fortifications. But Philip's general, Antipater, was sent with such advantageous and honourable offers of peace, that the conditions were accepted and ratified. Athens was to exchange Samos for Oropus, and her constitution was to remain unchanged. The Thebans, however, were treated with greater severity, because they had broken their alliance with Philip. The exiles were recalled, and placed in official positions; Plataea and Orchomenus were made free towns, and the Cadmea was garrisoned by a Macedonian



force. Although Demosthenes had been threatened with impeachment, as though he had been the cause of their present misfortunes, his fellow-countrymen recognised his patriotic services, and appointed him to the honourable office of pronouncing the funeral eulogy over those brave men who fell at Chæronea. On the spot where the Thebans fell was erected as a memorial a colossal lion.<sup>1</sup>

Philip had long determined upon war with Persia, and in the following spring he summoned a congress of the Greek states at Corinth. Plenipotentiaries were present there from all, with the exception of Sparta, and war against Persia was unanimously declared. Philip was chosen commander-in-chief of the expedition; each state furnished its contingent, and an army was thus levied which consisted of two hundred thousand infantry and fifteen thousand cavalry. The Delphic oracle was consulted as to the result of the expedition, and vouchsafed the following answer, expressed as usual in ambiguous terms:—"The victim is crowned with the chaplet; the altar is prepared." But the ambition of Philip was not destined to be gratified in this, his favourite scheme, for domestic discord delayed his enterprise, and then death cut short his hitherto triumphant career.

Since the battle of Chæronea he had married Cleopatra, the niece of Attalus. This excited the jealousy of Olympias his queen, the mother of Alexander the Great. She therefore left the court, and went to reside with her brother Alexander, king

<sup>1</sup> B. c. 337. Ol. cx. 4.

of Epirus. He took up his sister's quarrel, but Philip patched up an apparent reconciliation, and promised the king of Epirus his daughter, also called Cleopatra, in marriage. In the spring<sup>1</sup> he despatched his generals Amyntas, Attalus, and Parmenio into Æolia, intending himself to follow. But before he set out he thought it expedient to celebrate his daughter's nuptials at Ægæ, the ancient capital of the Macedonian kings. Dramatic entertainments formed part of the solemnities, and just as the king was entering the theatre, a young man rushed forward and stabbed him to the heart. The assassin attempted to make his escape, but was killed on the spot. He was a scion of a noble family, named Pausanias, who had been grossly insulted by Attalus, and, having been refused redress by the king, resolved to avenge himself by his assassination. Olympias and even Alexander have been suspected of being privy to the king's death, but there are not sufficient historical grounds for rendering so horrible a suspicion probable. The only evidence against Olympias is the fact that, by her order, the remains of the murderer were honoured with a sumptuous funeral.

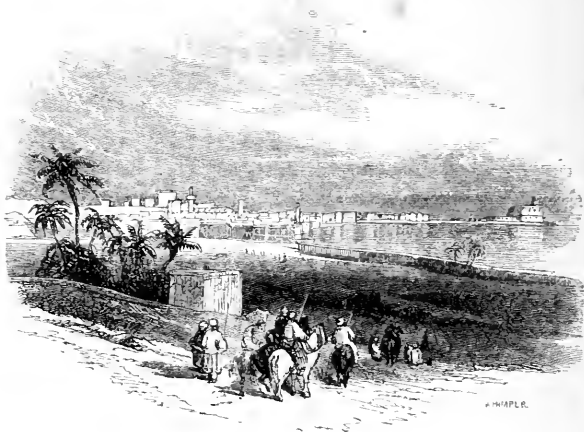
Thus died the founder of Macedonian supremacy in Greece, in the very prime of life, his energy unimpaired, his ambition unsatisfied. He was in the forty-seventh year of his age, and had reigned twenty-three years. Such were his talents, activity, wisdom, and humanity, that, had he been less artful, he would really have deserved the title of a great man. As it was, he created a powerful empire out of semi-

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 336. Ol. cxi. 1.

barbarian elements, he obtained a measure of military glory unequalled by any of his predecessors on the throne, and left behind him the means and resources which enabled his son Alexander to surpass him. Athens was glad at his death, and, urged by Demosthenes, decreed a crown to the assassin. Greece seemed for a moment to breathe again, but she never recovered the independence which Philip had overthrown.



The Peristyle of Temple of Theseus, Athens



Alexandria

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER—HIS BOYHOOD AND YOUTH—HIS LOVE OF HOMER—HE MARCHES INTO GREECE—RECEIVES AN EMBASSY FROM ATHENS—VISITS DIOGENES THE CYNIC—REDUCES HIS BARBARIAN NEIGHBOURS—INSURRECTION OF THE THEBANS—SURRENDER OF THE OBNOXIOUS ORATORS DEMANDED—DESTRUCTION OF THEBES—ALEXANDER'S EXPEDITION TO THE EAST BATTLE AT THE GRANICUS—CAPITULATION OF THE IONIAN CITIES—BATTLE OF ISSUS—SIEGE OF TYRE—TEMPLE OF JUPITER AMMON—BATTLE OF ARBELA—BABYLON SURRENDERS—SUSA—PERSEPOLIS—FURTHER CONQUESTS—INDIA—ALEXANDER'S RETURN—HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER.

ALEXANDER was called to his father's throne by the voices and acclamations of the people. He was now only in his twentieth year, but even from his boyhood he had exhibited plain indications of manly courage and intellectual power. When only sixteen years of age, he had acted as regent during Philip's temporary absence from Macedon. He had given

proofs of his valour in a campaign in Thrace, and of his abilities as a military commander at Chæroneæ. In his earliest childhood he was imbued with the spirit of the Homeric age; the *Iliad* was his study, the heroes of the Trojan war his models. His tutor called Philip Peleus, himself Phoenix, and his pupil Achilles. The well-known anecdote of his breaking in, when a mere boy, his famous charger Bucephalus, which every one else feared to mount, shows that he possessed thus early presence of mind, a strong will, and power to command. At the age of thirteen, he was placed under the tuition of the celebrated philosopher Aristotle, and by him he was instructed in poetry, oratory, and philosophy. Doubtless, the character of the future world-wide conqueror was moulded by the eminently practical mind of the philosopher, and that habit and love of varied observation which made Aristotle an enterprising traveller and a naturalist, led the young prince not only to visit the most distant regions of the world as a conqueror, but also, like Napoleon Buonaparte in modern times, to encourage science to accompany the march of his victorious armies.



Tetradrachma of Alexander the Great.

Still the *Iliad* continued to be a chief instrument in his education, for we are told that Aristotle edited it especially for the use of his royal pupil; and the geographer Strabo asserts that many of the emendations or corrections were by the hand of Alexander

himself. In after life he continued to be so warm an admirer of the *Iliad*, that his Homer was his constant companion throughout his campaigns. On his accession to the throne, Alexander's first care was to spread content amongst his people, by relieving to some extent the burdens of taxation; his next, to prevent the possibility of a revolution, by marching an army without delay into the heart of Greece. Accordingly, he made his way straight through Thessaly to Thermopylæ, awing the Thessalians into submission as he passed. When he arrived, he assembled the Amphictyonic Council, and received from their hands, as his father had done before, an acknowledgment of his supremacy in Greece.

There were no deputies present from Sparta, Athens, or Thebes; and therefore he marched into Bœotia, and thus gave check to both Thebes and Athens. The exultation which had pervaded Athens at Philip's death was damped at once. They no longer despised the "Pellæan youth," or resolved to shake off the foreign yoke, or determined that Macedonia should not take the lead in Greece. A humble embassy set forth to Thebes to conciliate his favour, and Demosthenes, who was one of the envoys, turned back when half-way there, he was so afraid to face



*Draachma of Corinth.*

him whom he had contemptuously reviled. The embassy was courteously received, and Alexander then proceeded to Corinth, where a congress was held, and all Greece, except Lacedæmon, elected him commander-in-chief of the allied army for the purpose

of carrying into effect the enterprise of Philip, namely, the conquest of Persia.

When Alexander was at Corinth, many philosophers and distinguished men came to pay their respects to him, but Diogenes the cynic philosopher was not amongst them. The young king therefore determined to pay him a visit in person. He found him lying in the sun, his only dwelling-place a tub, and living, as was the custom of his school, a life of voluntary poverty. Admiring his self-denial, he asked in what way he could serve him. "In nothing," replied the philosopher, "unless you will move out of my sunshine." "If I were not Alexander," observed the king, "I would be Diogenes."

The commencement of a new reign tempted his northern and north-western neighbours to repeat their annoyances; they little knew how formidable a successor to Philip they had in the person of his son. The Thracians, Triballi, and Illyrians were in arms.<sup>1</sup> By the promptness of his movements, he soon reduced them to subjection, and took the same opportunity of crossing the Danube, putting the Getæ to flight, and plundering the Danubian tribes. The only inconvenience which these insurrections caused him, was the deferring his Persian expedition until the next year.

Whilst he was engaged in this campaign a report was spread of his death. The Thebans resolved to make an attempt to throw off the Macedonian yoke, and attacked the garrison in the Cadmea. Demosthenes and the other orators also urged the Athenians

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 335. Ol. cxi. 2.

to take the same opportunity of asserting their independence, and to support and encourage the Thebans. The presence of Alexander in person soon contradicted the report of his death. By forced marches he arrived beneath the walls of Thebes, at the head of an army of twenty-three thousand men. No one helped the Thebans. The Athenians had decreed that aid should be furnished to them in their struggle, but they sent none; the Thebans, therefore, had to fight the battle alone.

So bravely did they fight, that, in the engagement which ensued, they at first repulsed the Macedonians; but Alexander, at the head of the resistless phalanx, rallied his men, turned the fortune of the day, and the Thebans were beaten and massacred. Six thousand were slain on the field, and thirty thousand were taken prisoners. Then vengeance fell upon this city for its malignity to Plataea in former days, for on these grounds amongst others, the allies, to whom the decision was referred, determined that Thebes should be utterly destroyed. The city was razed to the ground, the Cadmea was spared only to be occupied by Alexander's troops, and, as the price of Theban blood, the territory was partitioned amongst the allies. As an act of homage to Greek genius, the conqueror ordered that the house of the poet Pindar should be spared amidst the universal destruction.

Thebes was, doubtless, sacrificed to the relentless enmity of the Athenians; and they, in a spirit of abject servility, sent envoys, not only to sue for peace, but also with an address of congratulation to



the conqueror. Peace was readily granted, but it was upon the stern condition that Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and eight other leading orators of the war party, should be surrendered. But Demades, who was bribed by Demosthenes with five talents to plead their cause with Alexander, succeeded in obtaining their pardon.

Other accounts attribute this result to the influence of Phocion, and it is said that the king, in order to testify his approbation of his uprightness, sent him a gift of one hundred talents. "Why," said this disinterested patriot to the messenger, "does he offer me this money?" "Because," was the reply, "there is no other honest man but you." Phocion refused the offer, saying, "Let me then really be what the king thinks that I am." Alexander, however, insisted that Ephialtes and Charidemus should go into exile. They accordingly fled to Asia, and entered into the service of the Persian monarch. The former was killed the next year fighting against his countrymen, at the siege of Halicarnassus; the latter was put to death by order of Darius, because at a council of war he expressed an opinion which was unpalatable to the despotic tyrant.

The winter was spent by Alexander in preparations for his great Persian war; and in the following spring,<sup>1</sup> leaving Antipater regent in Macedonia, he crossed the Hellespont with a fleet of one hundred and sixty triremes, an army of thirty thousand infantry, and four thousand five hundred cavalry. With this comparatively insignificant force he ventured to invade the

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 334. Ol. cxi. 3.

dominions of Persia, and to face the myriads which he knew that the Great King could bring into the field. The sovereign who then occupied the throne was Darius III., surnamed Codomannus, whose accession had taken place not long before. He was distinguished for great personal beauty, as well as for gentleness of character, but he did not possess the abilities requisite to be an antagonist of Alexander. He was great-nephew to Artaxerxes II. (*Mnemon*), and was placed upon the throne by the intrigues of the eunuch Bagoas, who had murdered Arses, the son and successor of Artaxerxes III. (*Ochus*), and when he was deprived of the empire which became his by treason and bloodshed, the Persian dynasty perished with him.

On landing in Asia at the place where the Achæans landed on their way to the Trojan war, the first visit of this devoted lover of Homer was to the site of Troy, where he paid honours to the tomb of Achilles—since from that hero, according to the legends of his mother's family, he believed himself descended. He then, at the head of his army, met the Persians on the bank of a little stream called the Granicus, and resolved to force the passage of the river. This was a task of some danger, owing to the deepness of the water and the precipitous nature of the banks, and Alexander at one time would have lost his life, had it not been for his friend Clitus. Nevertheless, the Persians were totally defeated, and their army, of which twenty thousand Greek mercenaries formed a part, was dispersed. Memnon, a young Rhodian, who well knew what Alexander's troops were, and that most of the Persian soldiers were

raw and undisciplined recruits, had strongly recommended the generals to retreat, leaving the country waste behind them, but his salutary advice was given in vain.

From this well-fought field the conqueror marched upon Sardis, which capitulated at the news of his approach. The surrender of Ephesus and Miletus quickly followed, and Halicarnassus, after a short but stout resistance, was taken, and razed to the ground. It was defended by Memnon, the most able general in the Persian service, who, when he saw that there was no hope of holding the coast of Asia Minor against the brilliant successes of Alexander, made preparations for carrying the war into Greece. Fortunately for Alexander, sickness carried off this formidable adversary before he had time to carry his design into execution,<sup>1</sup> and he left no successor capable of supplying his vacant place.

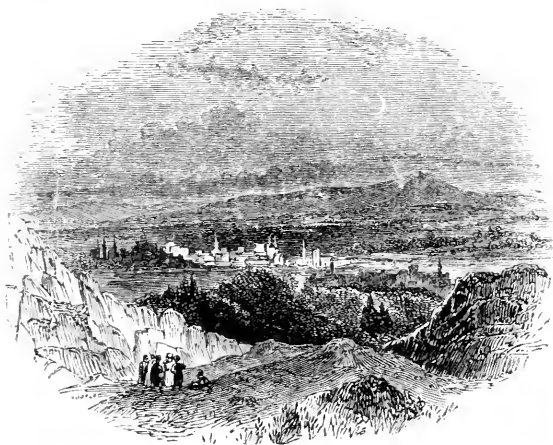
The conqueror allowed himself no rest, but pursued his triumphant march through Lycia and Pamphilia, receiving the submission of the towns as he passed. Then making his way over the mountain passes of Pisidia, he entered Phrygia, and halted at a town named Gordium. Here was preserved an ancient relic, to which, according to popular legends, the tenure of the sovereignty of Asia was attached. It was the chariot of Midas, and whoever could unloose the knot which bound the carriage to the pole, was destined to be the conqueror of Asia. The Macedonian king drew his sword, and cut the Gordian knot asunder, and thus claimed to have fulfilled the prediction. His

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 333. Ol. cxi. 4.

own prowess had even now partially accomplished it, for the lesser Asia was already in his power. In the spring he marched across Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, and reached Tarsus in Cilicia. There he fell dangerously ill of a surfeit caught by bathing, when heated, in the river Cydnus. He remained long enough to restore his health and to recruit his army, and soon afterwards intelligence was brought to him of the advance of Darius in person, at the head of one of those gigantic Oriental armies, which is said to have numbered six hundred thousand men. After Alexander had passed the city of Issus, Darius, unobserved, got, by a circuitous route, into the Macedonian rear. Alexander, therefore, faced about, and found the Persians near Issus, with their numerous host hemmed in on a narrow plain between the mountains and the sea. Alexander commanded the right wing of the Macedonians, and Darius, in his chariot, occupied the centre of the Persian line.

The action began with a furious charge of the Macedonian phalanx, which put to the rout the left wing of the Persians. A large body of Greek mercenaries, which formed the centre, then rushed to their rescue; but Alexander, recalling his troops from the pursuit, and reforming the phalanx, attacked and defeated them. In vain the Persian cavalry bravely resisted the onset of the Macedonian left, which was commanded by Parmenio, for Darius had already fled from the field, and his whole army, panic-stricken at his example, followed in utter confusion. The richest spoils of oriental luxury fell into the hands of the victors, and the mother, wife and children of

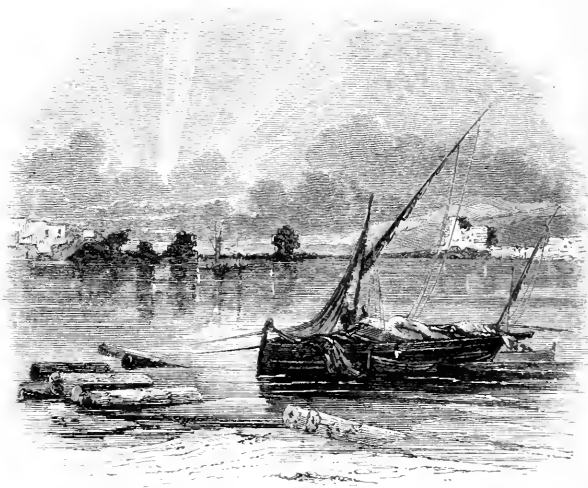
Darius were taken prisoners. Alexander treated them with the greatest courtesy, kindness, and generosity, and the fugitive monarch made, by letter, proposals of friendship and alliance ; Alexander, however, now would accept of nothing less than unqualified submission. One hundred and ten thousand Persians, and only four hundred and fifty Greeks, are said to have been left dead upon this bloody field.



Damascus.

Alexander's next object was the immediate conquest of the maritime and commercial cities of Phœnicia. Damascus, Sidon, and all the towns of Phœnicia except Tyre, submitted at once ; but the merchant princes of Tyre, trusting to their natural and artificial defences, attempted to make terms with the conqueror. He therefore laid siege to the place. It was situated upon an island surrounded with steep

rocks, over which frowned lofty and embattled walls. The arsenals were well furnished with all the material of war, the city was well supplied with provisions and water, and the ports contained a fleet of men-of-war. But the perseverance and engineering skill of Alexander overcame all difficulties, and in seven months the city was taken by storm. Then ensued a fearful scene of carnage and massacre. The assail-



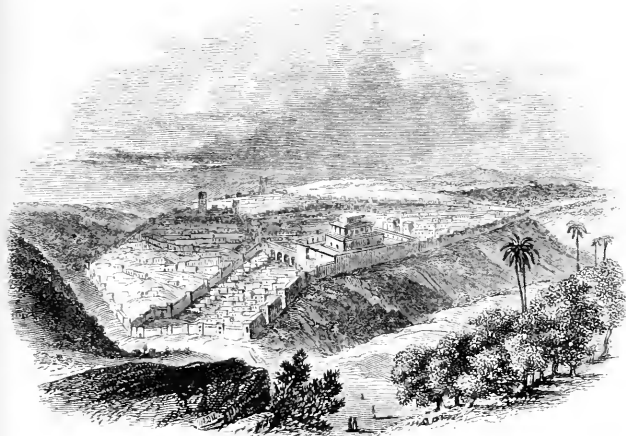
T. 106

ants, enraged by so obstinate a resistance, put eight thousand of the inhabitants to the sword, and thirty thousand were sold as slaves.<sup>1</sup> During the siege fresh proposals for peace arrived from Darius. He offered ten thousand talents, as ransom for his family,

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 332. Ol. cxii. 1.

his daughter Barsine in marriage, and the cession of all the provinces west of the Euphrates. Dazzled by these propositions, Parmenio observed, "Were I Alexander, I would accept them." The only reply of the conqueror was, "So would I, were I Parmenio."

From Tyre, Alexander kept the line of the coast southward to Gaza, which capitulated after a siege of



Jerusalem.

ten months. His army was accompanied by a fleet which he had collected from Sidon and other ports whilst carrying on the siege of Tyre. He then marched to Jerusalem, where, according to the account given by Josephus, he was met by the high-priest, attired in his sacred robes. The venerable appearance of God's minister struck him with awe, and he not

only refrained from offering violence to the holy city, but conferred on it and the temple munificent gifts and important privileges.

From Palestine he marched to Pelusium, which was situated on the eastern mouth of the Nile, whence his fleet sailed up the river to Memphis, whilst he, with his army, marched thither across the desert. The Egyptians received him gladly, for they saw in him a deliverer from the yoke of their old enemies the Persians. He returned by the western mouth of the Nile, and there laid the foundations of the celebrated city Alexandria.<sup>1</sup>

Fully aware of the advantages of enlisting the superstitious feelings of the world on his side, he next visited the ancient temple and oracle of Jupiter Ammon, which was situated in one of the green and well-watered oases of the Libyan desert. The priests came out to meet him with a solemn procession, and escorted him to the oracle. There, it is said, the high priest welcomed him with the Greek words *O paidion* (my son); and Alexander, affecting to misunderstand the imperfect pronunciation of the foreigner, asserted that the expression made use of by the inspired man was *O Pai Dios* (son of Jove); and, therefore, that he was hailed by the priest as son of the presiding deity.

Returning to Phœnicia, he proceeded across Palestine to Thapsacus, on the Euphrates, the spot where Darius, in his flight, had passed the river; and in Mesopotamia he learnt that Darius had raised a fresh army, amounting to one million, and was encamped

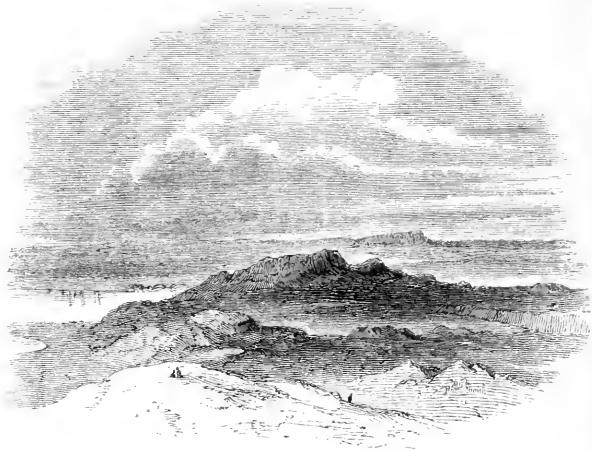
<sup>1</sup> B. C. 331. Ol. cxii. 2.



in the plain of Gaugamela, which was situated north of the Tigris, at the foot of the Carduchian mountains. The vast plain which the Persians now occupied was as favourable to the evolutions and manœuvres of their countless numbers, as the narrow area within the boundaries of which they had been cramped at Issus had been adverse. Alexander's forces, moreover, numbered less than fifty thousand; fewer, in fact, than the Greek mercenaries which were in the service of the Persians. On this occasion the phalanx formed the centre, opposite to Darius and his picked troops. Alexander and the cavalry were on the right, and in the rear was placed the light division, to act whenever occasion might require. Whilst Alexander calmly slept, the Persians were wearied and exhausted with watching. The battle began, and their line was soon broken, and, as before, the cowardly flight of Darius decided the issue of the day. At Arbela, which the Persians had made their dépôt, all the stores and baggage of the army fell into the hands of the conqueror, and hence this town, which was twenty miles distant from the scene of action, gave in history the name to this decisive battle, which ensured to Alexander the empire of Asia.

Babylon not only submitted without resistance, but welcomed the victor with a triumphal procession and songs of rejoicing; for she, like Egypt, had long been crushed beneath a foreign dynasty. As at Jerusalem, and probably from the same motives of policy, Alexander showed the greatest outward respect to the rites and ministers of religion. He did not long delay, to revel in the pleasures of this luxurious city;

but as winter was setting in, he marched for the still more wealthy capital of Susa. Here were found the spoils which Xerxes had borne away from Greece,



Babylon.

and amongst them those precious relics of Attic heroism, the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which Alexander considerately sent back to their rightful owners.

Conquering as he went, he next took Persepolis, the richest and most magnificent of the Persian capitals. Such brilliant and rapid successes, together with the gorgeous pomp of Asiatic splendour which surrounded him, and the flattery of his dependent parasites, seem to have almost turned his brain. He adopted the luxurious and licentious habits of the East, and with the disposition of a despot, he gave

way to violent paroxysms of passion, and indulged in acts of extravagant folly and cruelty. At a drunken debauch, and at the bidding of Thais, a wanton courtesan, he set fire to the royal palace, and destroyed this splendid memorial of the Persian dynasty.

Still in pursuit of Darius, he hastened to Ecbatana, but his flying foe was, by this time, some days' march in advance of him. When he overtook the Persian monarch in Bactria (*Balkh*), he was no more. Bessus, the rebel satrap of that country, had seized him, and assassinated him, and usurped the royal title. Alexander treated his remains with the respect due to a king, sent them for honourable burial in the tomb of his predecessors, and provided for the maintenance of his children. His uninterrupted career of conquest still continued. Parthia, Hyrcania, and all the countries bordering on the Caspian, acknowledged his sway. He founded an Alexandria in Asia (*Herat*), vanquished the warlike Arachoti (*Affghâns*), and built the modern city of Candahar.<sup>1</sup>

During this period of his career, a conspiracy was formed against his life, of which Philotas, the son of the celebrated general Parmenio, was accused of being cognisant. In the agonies of torture he implicated his father, and the old man, to whom the conqueror owed so much, was assassinated.

Early in the following spring he crossed the Paropamisus (*Hindû Cûsh*), in pursuit of Bessus, crossed the Oxus (*Amû*)<sup>2</sup> on rafts made of skins, into Sogdiana, and overtaking the usurper, who was betrayed into his hands, put him to death with cruel tortures.

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 330. Ol. cxii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 329. Ol. cxii. 4.

The capital of Sogdiana, Maracanda (*Samarcand*), of course fell; and after occupying some time in the conquest of the country bounded by the Iaxartes (*Sir*), he returned into Bactria for the winter. One fortress in Sogdiana still gallantly held out; he therefore re-crossed the river, and took it by escalade. Amongst those taken in the place was the beautiful Roxana, the daughter of a Bactrian chieftain, and with her he fell in love, and married her.<sup>1</sup>

Clitus was appointed governor of the conquered province, and at the parting banquet, because he would not join in the fulsome adulation of the cringing courtiers, Alexander, now incapable of self-restraint, hurled a spear with too fatal effect against the man who had saved his life. When this deed of passion was done, he became a prey to the bitterest remorse and anguish of mind, and for a long time refused to be comforted. Another conspiracy against his life, which was at this time discovered, shows, that whilst surrounded with insincere flatterers, his despotic cruelty was rapidly losing him the affection of his true friends. Hermolaus and Callisthenes, the ringleaders, were put to death with torture.<sup>2</sup>

India was now the object of Alexander's ambition, and toward the close of the spring he marched along the north bank of the Cabûl, as far as its junction with the Indus at Taxila (*Attock*). He found the ancestors of the Sikhs, as we ourselves have in modern times, a much more warlike people than the feeble and effeminate Orientals, with whom he had generally had to contend, and the subjugation of their

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 328. Ol. cxiii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 327. Ol. cxiii. 2.

territory was not unattended with difficulty. He transported his army of fifteen thousand cavalry and one hundred and twenty thousand infantry into the Punjab by a bridge of boats, and all the district between the Indus and the Hydaspes (*Jhelûm*), submitted unresistingly. There he founded two towns, one named after his favourite charger Bucephalus, which died there. His insatiable ambition received a just rebuke from an Indian prince, named Taxiles. "Why should we fight?" said he to Alexander; "if I am richer than you, I will give you part of my possessions; if poorer, I am not too proud to share your bounty." The Macedonian king, who could always appreciate noble sentiments, presented him (it is said) with the enormous sum of one thousand talents.

Between the Hydaspes (*Behût*) and the Acesines (*Chunâb*), lay the dominions of Porus,<sup>1</sup> a chieftain of gigantic stature, who made a gallant but unavailing resistance. His elephants at first terrified the horses in Alexander's army, unused to the sight of these huge animals, but afterwards, being put to flight, they spread still worse confusion in their own ranks. Porus was taken prisoner, and when he was led into the presence of the conqueror, Alexander, struck with his kingly look and heroic stature, asked him how he wished to be treated. "Like a king," was the answer of the intrepid chieftain. "Have you nothing else to ask?" said Alexander. "No," was the reply; "in that word all else is comprehended." Alexander

<sup>1</sup> This name is probably the Greek rendering of the Sanscrit Paurûsha, which signifies a hero.

generously restored to him the whole of his dominions, and also added to them the rest of the Punjâb.

The Hyphasis (*Sutlej*) formed the extreme boundary of Alexander's victorious progress. His troops, worn out with fatigue, would proceed no further. He had, therefore, no alternative but to return to the Hydaspes, where he had a fleet building of two thousand transports. Here he formed his army into three divisions, two of which pursued their march along either bank of the river, conquering as they went. In storming one town, he led the forlorn hope in person, and received a severe and even dangerous wound. Together with the third division he sailed by the mouth of the Indus into the Indian ocean.<sup>1</sup>

His fleet he despatched on a voyage of discovery, under the command of Nearchus, to coast along by the Persian Gulf as far as the mouth of the Euphrates, whilst he himself nobly shared the perils and privations of the main body of his army, in their march through the dry and dusty desert of Gedrosia (*Belochistân*). For sixty days they underwent extreme suffering from want of food and water, and vast numbers perished. When this fatiguing march was ended, they met the fleet at Harmozia (*Ormuz*), in the fertile district of Carmania (*Kermân*). He then struck across the country to Persepolis, whence, after a short stay, he proceeded to Susa. There he married Statira, the eldest daughter of Darius,<sup>2</sup> and bestowed her younger sister upon his friend Hephæstion. He also, with a view to amalgamate as much as possible the

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 326. Ol. exiii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 324. Ol. cxiv. 1.

two nations, encouraged his officers and soldiers to choose wives from amongst the Persian women. He next marched to Babylon, and on his way his army, offended with the Eastern pomp which he affected, and still more by the enlistment of barbarians in their ranks, broke out into open mutiny. He immediately, with his usual decision and courage, ordered the leaders of the rebellion to be executed, and by his personal expostulations with the rest not only brought them to submission, but even moved them to tears.

Triumphant as had been his career, he still meditated future conquests; but it was the will of Providence that he should not encounter an enemy mightier than himself. In the spring<sup>1</sup> he entered Babylon, and in the summer he was struck by the hand of death. He had made preparations for an invasion of Arabia, and celebrated with banquets the departure of the expedition. At these he drank to excess, and was attacked with violent fever. The disease rapidly gained the mastery, and he expired in the thirty-third year of his age. The conqueror died, and left no heir to the vast empire of which he was the founder; and his death was the signal for discord and strife amongst his ambitious generals. So absorbed were they in the lust for dominion, that his corpse lay unburied, and for thirty days the inheritance of even a few feet of earth was grudged to him whose ambition was unsatisfied because he had but one world to conquer.

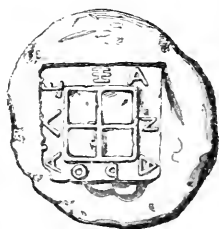
Alexander presents to the reader of history a combination of degrading vices with the most heroic

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 323. Ol. cxiv. 2.

virtues. But it must be remembered, that had he not been stained with those very vices, the sublimity of his virtues would have rendered him more than man. As it was, he was, without doubt, one of the greatest men who ever lived, and the defects in his character are greatly diminished by the consideration of the early age at which he had achieved his greatness. He had a strong will, his courage and perseverance were invincible, his talents as a statesman and his skill as a general were unrivalled. His ambition was selfish, his passions violent, and his love of pomp and splendour unbounded; but he was refined, generous, and humane. Little more can be said against him than that he was not one of that very small number who can bear the intoxication of uninterrupted success, and resist the temptations of unlimited power.



Tetradrachma of Alexander I  
of Macedon.



Reverse.



## CHAPTER XXIX.

SIEGE OF MEGALOPOLIS—DEATH OF AGIS II.—PARTITION OF THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRE AMONGST THE GENERALS OF ALEXANDER—CAMPAIGN OF LEOSTHENES AGAINST ANTIPATER — BATTLE OF CRANNON—CONDITIONS IMPOSED UPON ATHENS BY ANTIPATER—FLIGHT OF THE ORATORS — DEATH OF DEMOSTHENES—PUNISHMENT OF DEMADES — DEATH OF PERDICCAS—SECOND PARTITION OF THE EMPIRE — ANTIPATER—POLYSPERCHON—PROSECUTION OF PHOCION AND HIS FRIENDS—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF PHOCION—ATHENS SURRENDERS TO CASSANDER — DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS—MACEDONIA IN A STATE OF ANARCHY—THIRD PARTITION OF THE EMPIRE — DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES — BATTLE OF IPSUS—MACEDONIA.

WE must now return from the conquests of Alexander in Asia to the troubles which were at the same time distracting Greece. They were on a petty scale, compared with his gigantic enterprises, but they were not for that reason without importance. The absence of the Macedonian king seemed to offer the Spartans a favourable opportunity for making an effort to get rid of his supremacy, and to reestablish their independence. Agis II., therefore, who now occupied the throne of Sparta, assembled a confederate army of twenty thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, furnished by most of the Peloponnesian states, and besieged Megalopolis.<sup>1</sup> Antipater, the Macedonian regent, met him with a force of forty thousand men.

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 331. Ol. cxii. 2.

The Lacedæmonians fought bravely, but were defeated with great slaughter, and Agis himself was amongst the slain. The Spartans were, consequently, obliged to sue for peace, and to purchase it by joining the general confederacy, which recognised Alexander as its chief, and by a subsidy of one hundred and twenty talents to the Megalopolitans.

From this struggle the Athenians had stood aloof, and the failure of it strengthened the Macedonian interest in Athens; and Æschines, in order to injure Demosthenes, impeached Ctesiphon for having, many years before, proposed that Demosthenes should be rewarded with a crown of gold in the theatre, at the Dionysiac festival. Demosthenes defended Ctesiphon, and as Æschines did not obtain a fifth part of the votes, he went into exile to Rhodes, in order to escape the penalty to which he was liable.<sup>1</sup>

Two years before the death of Alexander, Harpalus, whom he had made his treasurer at Babylon, having squandered the principal part of the funds entrusted to his care, and fearing to be called to account, fled to Athens with a large sum of money. The Athenians at first refused to receive him, but by skilful bribery he rallied a party round him, and even Demosthenes was suspected of having accepted twenty talents. The Athenians, on the requisition of Antipater, insisted on his quitting the city. He was put in prison, but escaped. Demosthenes was prosecuted by the court of the Areopagus, and, although most probably the victim of political spite, was found guilty, and sentenced to pay a fine of

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 330. Ol. cxii. 3.

fifty talents. Being unable to do so, he was thrown into prison, but escaped to Ægina, and afterwards to Trœzene. Testimony was subsequently borne to his innocence, for he was recalled, and the fine paid for him.

The corpse of Alexander was carried to Alexandria for burial in the royal cemetery of the Ptolemies, where it arrived after a journey of more than a year. On his death-bed he had given his signet-ring to Perdiceas, and thus conferred upon him a leading position in the council which was held to determine upon the course to be pursued respecting the future administration of the empire. In order to calm the confusion which ensued, it was decided that Arrhidæus, a weak young man, the son of Philip by Philinna, a Thessalian dancer, should be proclaimed king, with a reservation in favour of the child of Roxana, who was pregnant, in case she should give birth to a son. The generals divided the empire amongst themselves, Perdiceas nominating himself guardian of the quasi-king.

The death of Alexander revived the spirits of the patriotic party at Athens, the head of which was now Hyperides. A fleet of more than two hundred sail was raised, together with an army of native Athenians, allies and mercenaries, amounting to more than thirty thousand men, and placed under the command of Leosthenes. The whole of Greece was enthusiastic in the struggle, except the Spartans, who were crushed by their late defeat, and Corinth, which was garrisoned by Macedonians. The success of Leosthenes was rapid and brilliant—he defeated Antipater near the pass of Thermopylæ, and forced him to

retreat, and take refuge in the Thessalian town of Lamia, to which he immediately laid siege. So vigorously did he carry on his operations that Antipater sued for peace, which was refused. The siege was then turned into a blockade, but the brave Leosthenes was killed by a stone, and with his fall the success of the confederates came to an end.

His successor, Antiphilus, had neither knowledge nor experience; the Ætolians, who had furnished the largest body of troops, deserted their cause; Antipater was enabled to leave Lamia, and being reinforced by a large body of troops, fought a battle at Crannon,<sup>1</sup> which, though not decisive, proved to the Greeks that Macedonia was too strong for them, and that further opposition was hopeless. Antipater would not treat with the allies as a body, but only with each state separately. Thus selfish fears prevailed, and one after the other every state submitted. He now marched towards Athens, thus denuded of her allies. In Bœotia he was met by an Athenian embassy, consisting of the veteran Phocion, now eighty years of age, and the treacherous orator Demades. Phocion exerted all his influence, but at first could obtain no terms short of absolute submission. On a second interview, Antipater somewhat modified his demands. He insisted that the Munychia should be occupied by a Macedonian garrison, the cost of the war defrayed, all the citizens whose property did not amount to twenty minæ disfranchised, and Demosthenes, Hyperides, and other orators of the patriotic party surrendered.

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 322. Ol. cxiv. 3.

These hard conditions were complied with, and twelve thousand, or, as some say, twenty-one thousand citizens migrated to Thrace, where Antipater assigned them a settlement. Demosthenes and the proscribed orators left Athens, and in their absence were condemned to death on the motion of Demades. Antipater sent in search of them a detachment of soldiers, guided by a stage-player named Archias, who, for his activity in his hateful task, was nick-named Phygadotheras (*Hunter of Exiles*). Hyperides and some others were discovered and executed, but Demosthenes fled for refuge to the temple of Posidon (*Neptune*), in the little island of Calauria.

Archias tried to persuade the orator to leave the sanctuary and come with him to Antipater, but he refused; and, asking permission to write to a friend, sat down, and putting the reed with which he wrote to his lips, swallowed poison, which he always carried about with him concealed in it. When he felt the effects of the poison, he said he was ready to go, and as he rose his footsteps tottered, he sank down at the altar and expired. His last words were—"O Posidon, I depart from thy temple yet alive, but Antipater would have desecrated even thy temple." In him Athens lost not only an eloquent and impressive orator, but a consistent patriot. The traitor Demades not many years afterwards fell a victim to his own insincerity. Among the papers of Perdicas was discovered by Cassander, the son of Antipater, a letter of Demades, advising him to attack Antipater. Accordingly Cassander caused him and his son De-meas to be put to death.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 319. Ol. cxv. 2.

Three months after the death of Alexander, Roxana gave birth to a son who was named after his father. Perdiccas, as regent of Macedon, became the guardian of the infant prince. Tempted by this influential position, he aspired to supplant his ward; the other generals, therefore, Antipater, Craterus, and Ptolemy governor of Egypt, resolved to cut short his ambi-



Gold Pentadrachma of Ptolemy Soter.



Reverse.

tious designs. Perdiccas forthwith, at the head of an army, marched to Egypt, but he met with no success, and when he was in the neighbourhood of Memphis, a conspiracy was formed against him, and he was assassinated.

At his death the generals appointed Antipater regent,<sup>1</sup> but he only lived three years, during which period no important or interesting events occurred. Before he died<sup>2</sup> he magnanimously passed over his own son Cassander, and nominated Polysperchon his successor. He probably thought that notwithstanding his advanced age (for he was eighty years old) his ability and experience qualified him for so difficult a position. Cassander, considering himself deprived of his lawful inheritance, resolved to strike a blow for the regency, and immediately went to Asia to get

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 321. Ol. cxiv. 4<sup>2</sup> B. C. 318. Ol. cxv. 3.

help from Antigonus, who, on the partition of the empire, had obtained a large portion of Asia Minor.

In this political struggle the Athenians took the part of Polysperchon, because he artfully promised to reestablish the democratic constitution. Nicanor, the commander of the Macedonian garrison in the Munychia, sided with Cassander, but as public feeling was so strong, he escaped by the connivance of Phocion and his aristocratic friends. They being impeached and condemned, rushed most unaccountably into the very jaws of danger, for they fled to the camp of Alexander the son of Polysperchon, who had come to Athens to attack Nicanor. He sent them to his father, and in his presence their political enemies made a formal accusation against them.

They were brought to a mock trial, in which Phocion was not permitted to say a single word in his defence; and being thus condemned unheard, they were sent in chains to Athens to receive their sentence from the assembly.

Notwithstanding the unpopularity of the politics of Phocion, his long-tried integrity commanded the respect and sympathy of all right-minded Athenians. Many covered their faces and wept. His condemnation was no test of public feeling, for the assembly which sentenced him to death included all the rabble of Athens, foreigners, slaves, and outlaws (*ἄτιμοι*). Unmoved and dignified he passed from the court to the prison, and his last moments were marked by that cheerfulness which distinguished his great fellow-countryman Socrates, and our own Anna Boleyn and Sir Thomas More. No ill-treatment had power to excite his

resentment. When some one spat upon him, he merely requested the by-standers to prevent such indecent behaviour. When a friend asked him whether he had any message for his son, his reply was, "Bid him not cherish angry feelings against the Athenians." When the quantity of hemlock proved insufficient, and the executioner demanded twelve drachmæ for a second dose, he said with a smile to his murmuring friends, "Since at Athens no one is permitted to die free of charge, pray pay him."

Phocion died at the advanced age of eighty-five.<sup>1</sup> He really deserved well of his country; he was rough-mannered, but he was contented, self-denying, of unimpeachable integrity, and of imperturbable temper. His political sentiments were aristocratic, and that, in the eyes of the Athenian populace, was a crime which they, like the mob of Paris at the revolution, could not forgive. No wonder that the wife of such a man, when asked why she did not wear jewels, replied in language similar to that which was afterwards used by the mother of the Gracchi, "Phocion is my richest jewel." The wrath of his savage enemies still pursued him. They forbade him the rites of burial. Even his friends feared to perform the last sad offices to his corpse. Only a poor slave and a foreign woman fulfilled this act of charity, and buried him at Megara. The time came, however, when Athens repented, caused his remains to be brought home, and erected a statue to his memory.

In a few weeks Cassander returned with a fleet and army from Antigonus, and Polysperchon laid siege to

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 317. Ol. cxv. 4.



the Piræus, but finding it too strong he withdrew into the Peloponnese and made an unsuccessful attack upon Megalopolis. At the same time his fleet was utterly destroyed in the Hellespont by that of Cassander. The fickle Athenians surrendered their liberty to the conqueror, who remodelled the constitution in an oligarchical form, and made Demetrius, a native of the Attic borough of Phalerus, the president. He was one of the party of Phocion, a man of taste and learning, and in his public policy a second Pisistratus. The people for a time appreciated his worth, but at length the democratic party gained the upper hand and condemned him to death. He was forced to fly to Egypt, where he found a hospitable asylum at the court of the enlightened Ptolemy.<sup>1</sup>

It is unnecessary to relate in detail the events of Macedonian history, which now filled the whole kingdom with bloodshed and anarchy. The weak-minded Arrhidæus and his artful wife were cruelly murdered by Olympias the mother of Alexander, who was herself blockaded in Pydna by Cassander, and when the town capitulated was murdered by his order. Roxana and the heir to the throne were imprisoned in Amphipolis. Antigonus and Eumenes, who since the death of Leonatus at Lamia shared the whole of Asia Minor between them, went to war with each other, and the former succeeded in crushing his rival. A sham peace was patched up,<sup>2</sup> the conditions of which were that Cassander should have Macedonia until the young prince arrived at his majority; Lysimachus should retain Thrace; Ptolemy, Egypt; and Antigonus,

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 307. Ol. cxviii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 311. Ol. cxvii. 2.

who was evidently the ablest and most powerful of Alexander's generals, should be governor of the whole of Asia. Seleucus retained undisturbed possession of the province of Babylonia, which had been assigned to him in the second division of the empire on the death of Perdiccas.<sup>1</sup>

To secure the possession of Macedonia, Cassander murdered his royal captives Roxana and Alexander, and the grasping ambition of Antigonus occasioned the violation of the peace the very year after it had been concluded. Three years subsequently<sup>2</sup> his son Demetrius sailed to Athens in command of a numerous fleet and proclaimed the restoration of democracy. Demetrius Phalereus, as has been already stated, fled, and the Macedonian garrison was expelled. In the following year Demetrius laid siege to Salamis, which was relieved by Ptolemy. A great naval battle ensued, in which Demetrius was victorious, and all the generals except Cassander assumed the title of "king." He next besieged Rhodes, but without success, and on this occasion received the surname by which he is known in history, namely, Poliorcetes (*the besieger of cities*).

A decisive battle fought at Ipsus in Phrygia<sup>3</sup> brought the feuds of Alexander's successors to an issue for a time, and determined finally the succession to the several portions of his empire. Antigonus was defeated and slain, and Demetrius retreated with the remainder of his army. The empire was divided into four kingdoms, of which Cassander received Macc-

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 325.

<sup>2</sup> B.C. 307. Ol. cxviii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> B.C. 301. Ol. cxix. 4.

donia; Lysimachus, Thrace and the greater part of Asia Minor; Seleucus, Syria and Babylonia; and Ptolemy, Egypt.

Adversity did not subdue the spirit of Demetrius. Although his friends at Athens deserted him and went over to Cassander, Seleucus gave him his daughter in marriage. He then recaptured Athens after a protracted siege, in which the inhabitants were reduced to the extremity of famine.<sup>1</sup> The same year Cassander died, and was succeeded by his eldest son Philip IV. who only reigned one year. At his death, his brothers Antipater and Alexander both laid claim to the vacant throne. Antipater sought aid from Lysimachus, and Alexander made an alliance with Pyrrhus king of Epirus, and Demetrius Poliorcetes. The former arranged the quarrel between the young princes, but the latter caused his ally to be assassinated and usurped the throne.<sup>2</sup> Seven years the usurper reigned, and then by his self-indulgent tyranny having forfeited the affections of his subjects, he was deposed by Pyrrhus, who was in his turn almost immediately driven from the throne of Macedon by Lysimachus.<sup>3</sup>

In the course of the few months during which Pyrrhus reigned, the Athenians made one last effort for independence and freedom. Led by one Olympiodorus, the people rose to arms, drove out the Macedonian garrison, and defeated their army near Eleusis. In this struggle Pyrrhus assisted them, and thus they succeeded in throwing off the yoke of a foreign power.

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 296. Ol. cxxi. 1.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 294. Ol. cxxi. 3.

<sup>3</sup> B. C. 286. Ol. cxxiii. 3.

Macedonia, however, was not destined to enjoy tranquillity. The curse of blood-stained strife still rent



Gold Octodrachma of  
Ptolemy Philadelphus.

asunder the dismembered empire of Alexander, although his surviving generals were now on the verge of the grave. Ptolemy abdicated in favour of Ptolemy Philadelphus, passing over his elder son, Ptolemy Ceraunus. The latter, justly offended, retired to the court of Macedon. Seleucus declared war against Lysimachus, and defeated and slew him at Corupedion near Sardis,<sup>1</sup> but was soon afterwards treacherously assassinated by Ptolemy Ceraunus. Thus in one short year the throne of Macedon was filled three times.

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 281. Ol. cxxiv. 4.

## CHAPTER XXX.

THE GAULS—PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS SLAIN—A GREEK ARMY MEETS THE GAULS AT THERMOPYLE—THE GAULS DEFEATED AT DELPHI—GALATIA FOUNDED—ANTIGONUS GONATAS—PYRRHUS KING OF EPIRUS—SIEGE AND CAPITULATION OF ATHENS—REVIVAL OF THE ACHÆAN LEAGUE—ARATUS OF SICYON—ACCESSION OF STRENGTH TO THE LEAGUE—WAR BETWEEN SPARTA AND THE ACHÆANS—REFORMS AT SPARTA—ANTIGONUS DOSON ELECTED GENERAL OF THE ACHÆANS—BATTLE OF SELLASIA—FATE OF CLEOMENES—ÆTOLIAN LEAGUE—SOCIAL WAR—AFFAIRS IN ITALY—POLICY OF PHILIP—THE ROMANS IN GREECE—PHILOPÆMEN CHOSEN STRATEGUS.

A NEW and barbarous enemy now appeared upon the scene to execute vengeance upon the cowardly assassin. More than a century previously hordes of Gauls had poured down into Italy and burned Rome. They had next spread eastward, and had made themselves masters of Thrace; now they invaded Macedonia, and Ptolemy was defeated and slain.<sup>1</sup> The following year a Gallic chieftain, who bore the same name (*Brennus*) as he who led his countrymen against the capital of Italy, penetrated still further south, at the head of a force amounting (it is said) to one hundred and fifty thousand infantry and fifteen thousand cavalry.

Their intention was to plunder Delphi of its far-famed treasures, but the allied Greeks rapidly

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 280. Ol. cxxv. 1.

assembled an army of twenty-three thousand foot and a large body of horse to arrest the progress of the barbarians, and marched to Thermopylæ under the command of Callippus, an Athenian.<sup>1</sup> The enemy could not force the pass thus defended, but struck across the mountains, and approached the oracular shrine. The god is said to have protected his temple by prodigies similar to those which two centuries before had terrified the Persians. The lightning flashed, the thunder rolled, and huge rocks bounded down the steep sides of Parnassus. The Delphians, aided by the Ætolians and Phocians, taking advantage of the panic thus occasioned, put them to flight, and Brennus was wounded; a second defeat followed, and Brennus in despair took poison. Notwithstanding their ill success in Greece, the Gauls held their ground in Thrace and on the Danube, and a portion of them crossing the Hellespont formed the Asiatic settlement called Galatia.

The ill-fated kingdom of Macedon experienced two years of anarchy, and then Antigonus Gonatas, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, ascended the throne;<sup>2</sup> but he only held the sceptre four years. Pyrrhus during the first part of his reign was absent in Italy, whither he had gone to aid the Tarentines against the Romans. On his return he made war upon Antigonus and got possession of his kingdom. But he was too restless to retain it long. He was a brave and generous-hearted man, but he had an empty ambition to be a second Alexander. He therefore turned his

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 279. Ol. cxxv. 2.

<sup>2</sup> B.C. 277. Ol. cxxv. 4.

<sup>3</sup> B.C. 273. Ol. cxxvi. 4.

arms against Sparta, and almost succeeded in taking it. On the failure of this expedition he marched against Argos, and came into collision with the forces of Antigonos in the midst of the city. During the engagement he was stunned by a tile thrown at him from a house-top by a woman, and his head was cut off by an officer in the army of Antigonos.<sup>1</sup> Upon the death of Pyrrhus, Antigonos again obtained possession of his kingdom.

The occupation of the throne of Macedon had for a long time implied supremacy over Greece. But just now the Athenians had under Olympiodorus achieved their independence. They had no Macedonian garrison, and they enjoyed the advantages of their free constitution. Antigonos, therefore, although his influence was paramount throughout the Peloponnese, had still to win Athens. In the war which she maintained with him, she proved herself worthy of the independence which Olympiodorus had won for her, and it was not until after a siege of seven years, in which the Athenians experienced great sufferings, that they capitulated, and a Macedonian garrison again occupied the ports of Piræus and Munychia.<sup>2</sup>

It seemed now as though there existed no power in Greece except Sparta capable of opposing a barrier to the overwhelming strength of Macedon; but a little more than ten years after the capture of Athens,<sup>3</sup> the oppressive tyranny of Antigonos led to the revival of an institution which played an important

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 272. Ol. cxxvii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> B.C. 262. Ol. cxxix. 3.

<sup>3</sup> B.C. 251. Ol. cxxxii. 2.

part in this period of Greek history. From a very early period there had existed in Achaia a league or confederacy, the objects of which were rather religious than political. Many similar bonds of union, partly of a religious character, partly for the sake of mutual protection and simultaneous action, existed in Greece. The Achæan league had never exhibited great activity, and the functions of this federal union had been in abeyance ever since the death of Alexander the Great. About the year B.C. 280 it again revived, but at this period it acquired fresh importance, and became really efficient by the accession of the wealthy and popular state of Sicyon.

The revival of the league, and the connexion of Sicyon with the ten leading cities of Achaia, of which it was composed, was owing to Aratus, one of the most remarkable characters in the declining period of Greek history. Sicyon, like every other Greek state which passed from an oligarchical to a constitutional form of government, had, though later than the rest, its era of tyrants. A patriotic citizen named Clinias delivered his country from the oppressive rule of the last of these, and his son Aratus, a youth of twenty years of age, completed the work which his father had begun, by the establishment of a democracy. He then persuaded his fellow-countrymen to join the Achæan confederacy.

He was a Greek of the olden time, a lover of constitutional liberty, an adept in military science, and possessing great abilities as a statesman. Six years after he had reorganized the league,<sup>1</sup> he was elected

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 245. Ol. cxxxiii. 4.



*Strategus*, or general-in-chief of it, and two years subsequently he filled that high post a second time.<sup>1</sup> Owing to his reputation and influence, the league rapidly received great accessions of strength, and was joined by Corinth, Trœzene, Epidaurus, Argos, and Megalopolis. Athens for a time held back, but ultimately joined it.

Aratus, wisely seeing the importance of united nationality, was anxious to form an union of all the Peloponnesian states; but Cleomenes, the king of Sparta, refused, and on Aratus attempting to sieze some Arcadian towns which also stood aloof, war broke out between Sparta and the Achæans.<sup>2</sup> At first the career of Cleomenes was eminently successful; Argos, Corinth, and other important towns fell into his hands, and by his judicious reforms at home, he restored to the degenerate Spartans something like their ancient military discipline.

Reform had already been attempted some years previously by Agis IV. That king openly professed himself an enemy to that luxury and self-indulgence which had, since the time of Lysander, gradually driven out the ancient frugal simplicity of Spartan manners, had emptied the syssitia and gymnasia, reduced the genuine Spartan citizens to seven hundred, and substituted hired mercenaries for their brave native militia. Agis endeavoured to restore the old institutions; proposed a new division of the land, which had been absorbed by a few wealthy individuals, whilst the rest were reduced to abject poverty and offered to surrender all his own property. The

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 243. Ol. cxxxiv. 2.

<sup>2</sup> B.C. 227. Ol. cxxxviii. 2.

party of the wealthy, however, headed by his colleague, king Leonidas, vehemently opposed, and the senate threw out the measure by a majority of one. Agis was marked out for vengeance. He was thrown into prison, and, together with his mother and grandmother, strangled. "Do not weep," were the parting words of this magnanimous Spartan. "I die innocent, and am far happier than my executioners."

Leonidas reigned seven years after him, and his son and successor was Cleomenes. He was as ardent in the cause of reform as Agis had been, but the sad fate of the latter taught him how unpopular change was with his subjects, and how little prospect there was of carrying his measures with their consent. He therefore effected his revolution by a daring coup-de-main. At the head of a body of mercenaries on whose fidelity he could depend, and who had served under him during his campaigns, he marched upon Sparta, put the ephors to the sword and abolished the office altogether, exiled the leading citizens, made a redistribution of estates, restored the old social institutions, and granted the franchise to the most deserving men in the towns and villages of Laconia. He himself also set an example of the old Spartan discipline which he had restored. Still he did not desist from carrying on the war against the league; and so great were the advantages which he gained over his adversaries, that he was even just upon the point of crowning his successes by an advantageous peace, which would have secured to him the supremacy of the Peloponnese.

Aratus, however, rather than give up his point, sought aid from Macedon, and by this mistaken policy

sacrificed the cause of Greece. Antigonus Doson<sup>1</sup> (*the Promiser*), the grandson of Antigonus Gonatas, was now king, having been called to the throne by the voice of the people; and at the request of Aratus he came to the assistance of the Achæans. At first his progress was stopped by the occupation of Thermopylæ by the Ætolians, who espoused the side of the Spartans and Eleans. He was, therefore, compelled to cross into Eubœa, and recross to the Isthmus. Here Cleomenes rapidly raised earthworks to cut off his approach, and it is not improbable that he would have succeeded in doing so, had not an insurrection in Argos forced him to fall back upon that city. Antigonus thus became master of Corinth, and was elected commander-in-chief of the Achæan league.

The decisive battle of Sellasia, in Laconia, crushed all the hopes of Cleomenes. For a time the fortune of the day was nearly equal, but at length a charge of the Achæan cavalry broke the ranks of Cleomenes, and his army was almost entirely cut to pieces.<sup>2</sup> At his advice Sparta submitted, without attempting any further resistance, and, as well as the Achæan towns, received a Macedonian garrison. Antigonus treated the citizens with kindness, and did not interfere with the internal administration of their affairs.

Cleomenes retired to Alexandria, and took refuge at the court of Ptolemy III., surnamed Evergetes (*the Benefactor*). This monarch was a man of refined

<sup>1</sup> The name Doson (δόσω), signifies one about to give; and, therefore, implied that Antigonus was always going to give, but never gave.

<sup>2</sup> B.C. 221. Ol. cxxxix. 4.

mind and literary taste, and added so much to the Alexandrian library, that he has been sometimes confounded with the real founder of it, Ptolemy Philadelphus his father. He received the exiled king kindly, and assigned him and his followers a competent maintenance. His son and successor, Ptolemy Philopator, an effeminate and vicious man, with whom commenced the decline of Egyptian greatness, treated him as a prisoner instead of as a guest. His end was most tragic. He and his friends made their escape from their durance, and endeavoured to excite the people to rebellion. Their attempt proving unsuccessful, they fell upon each other's swords. The eldest boy of Cleomenes threw himself from the house-top, his wife and children were put to death, his senseless corpse was crucified.

Another important political combination, which existed at this period, now claims our attention. The wild Ætolian tribes, who were little better than freebooters or banditti, were also united together in a league, like the Achæan cities. Like the Achæans, they had long lingered in obscurity, but had burst forth into new life at the death of Alexander the Great. Amongst the places which had joined the Ætolian league, was the border town of Phigaleia, in Arcadia. The Ætolians, therefore, sent thither a detachment of troops, which made the place its head quarters, and planned an incursion into Messenia for the sake of plunder. On their march to Phigaleia, they committed great ravages in Achaia. The Achæans, therefore, under the command of Aratus, attacked them at Caphyæ, in the neighbour-

hood of Orchomenus ;<sup>1</sup> but as the position which the Ætolians occupied was more favourable than that of the Achæans, the latter were signally defeated, and the Ætolians returned home laden with the plunder of the surrounding country.

Antigonus Doson had died of decline in the same year in which the battle of Sellasia was fought, and was succeeded on the throne by Philip V. The new king, though a mere youth, displayed considerable ability and energy, and the Achæans thought it their best policy to seek his alliance, in order to punish the Ætolians. He readily joined their league, and laid waste Ætolia in two successive campaigns. In the second of these he invaded Laconia, on the grounds that the Spartans had taken up arms in support of the Ætolians, and the Spartan army, under the command of Lycurgus, who was then one of the kings, was defeated. This war, which continued three years, is called the Confederate, or Social war ; but it led to no important consequences, having been nothing else but a succession of marauding expeditions. Philip terminated the war suddenly, and made peace without consulting the Achæans.<sup>2</sup> His conduct was, doubtless, determined by the following critical state of affairs.

Whilst war was thus rending Greece asunder, Italy was the scene of the great struggle between the Romans and Carthaginians. The news of the victory gained by Hannibal at the lake Trasimenus, reached Philip whilst engaged in celebrating the Nemean games. He, as well as those advisers in whom

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 220. Ol. cxl. 1.

<sup>2</sup> B.C. 217. Ol. cxl. 4.

he reposed confidence, felt convinced that, whichever nation proved victorious, it would scarcely be content with Italy, and would, if Greece remained in its present weak and divided state, pursue its career of conquest there. Some flattered his ambition with the hope that, if he brought into action united Greece, he might even reduce Italy to subjection. With this view he patched up a hasty peace with the Ætolians, which was exceedingly distasteful to his friend Aratus and the Achæans.

Greece being at peace through his influence, the next question for him to decide was whether his best policy was to join the Romans or Hannibal. He accordingly employed his fleet to watch the movements of the contending parties. The decisive victory which Hannibal gained at Cannæ, in which the Romans suffered so severely, decided the point, and he immediately concluded a treaty of alliance with Hannibal.<sup>1</sup> This step he followed up with warlike measures. He attacked some towns in Epirus which were in alliance with the Romans, but whilst he was in the act of besieging one of them, his fleet and army were defeated by the Roman prætor, M. Valerius Lævinus.

Philip's arbitrary and violent measures towards Greece were strenuously opposed by Aratus, and as his talents and influence made him a serious obstacle to his schemes, he caused him to be removed by a slow poison.<sup>2</sup> Aratus was deserving of the appellation of a great as well as a distinguished man, because from early youth he possessed that force of character

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 216. Ol. cxli. 1.

<sup>2</sup> B.C. 213. Ol. cxli. 4.

which gains and exercises an influence over the minds of others. He was shrewd and politic, rather than an able general. His love of power and jealousy of a competitor, once, at least, got the better of his prudence, or he would not have thrown himself and the cause of Greece into the power of Macedon, merely to exclude Cleomenes from the supremacy of the Peloponnese. His qualifications, however, must have stood high in the opinion of his contemporaries, for he filled the office of general-in-chief (*Strategus*) seventeen times, and after his death divine honours were paid to him as a hero.

When the Romans had leisure to think of Greek conquests, they of course perceived that the best policy for them to pursue was to involve the different states in war amongst themselves, and thus cause them mutually to weaken one another. Lævinus, therefore, induced the Ætolians to make an alliance with the Roman republic, and to declare war against Philip and the Achæans.<sup>1</sup> Thus, after a few years of quiet, Greece again became the theatre of war, and scenes of plunder and devastation ensued similar to those which had disgraced the Confederate war.

The Romans seized Zacynthus, Naxos, and Ægina, and transferred them to the Ætolians. Two Asiatic monarchs took part in this war; Attalus, king of Pergamus, as an ally of the Romans and Ætolians, and Prusias, king of Bithynia, on the side of Philip and the Achæans. A few years after the murder of Aratus, the Achæans chose as *Strategus* Philopœmen, a citizen of Megalopolis.<sup>2</sup> At the battle of Sellasia,

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 211. Ol. cxlii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 208. Ol. cxliii. 1.

he had led the cavalry attack which decided the fortune of the day, and had now for two years commanded the Achæan horse. His wisdom, gallantry, and patriotism shed a glory over this gloomy and distracted period of Greek history, and justified the choice of the Achæans. His energy animated the drooping spirits of his followers, his military science improved their tactics, and his determination restored their discipline.

The results proved the efficiency of his system. Sparta, which was now crushed beneath the power of a tyrant named Machanidas, had joined the Romans, and, like the cities of their allies the Ætolians, was fast becoming a mere stronghold of marauders. Philopœmen, after a sanguinary engagement, signally defeated Machanidas, and himself pierced the tyrant through the body with his spear.<sup>1</sup> Four thousand Spartans fell on that bloody field, and their territory was laid waste and plundered. The victorious Philopœmen was subsequently re-elected commander-in-chief of the league, and at the ensuing Nemean games was hailed as the liberator of Greece. Two years after this the Ætolians were so reduced as to be glad to conclude a peace with Philip upon his own terms, and the next year peace was also made between Philip and the Romans.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 207. Ol. cxliii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> B.C. 204. Ol. cxliv. 1.



## CHAPTER XXXI.

CAUSES OF ROMAN INTERFERENCE IN GREECE—DEVASTATION OF ATHENS—THE LEAGUE JOINS THE ROMANS—BATTLE OF CYNOSCEPHALÆ—FLAMININUS AT THE ISTHMIAN GAMES—INTRIGUES OF THE ÆTOLIANS—NABIS CONQUERED BY FLAMININUS—PHILOPEMEN—ANTIOCHUS III.—DESTRUCTION OF ÆTOLIAN LEAGUE—LAST EXPLOIT AND DEATH OF PHILOPEMEN—NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE ROMANS AND PHILIP—ACCESSION OF PERSEUS—HIS POPULARITY—DECLARES WAR AGAINST ROME—BATTLE OF PYDNA—IMPRISONMENT AND DEATH OF PERSEUS—THE LEADING ACHÆANS SENT TO ROME—AGGRESSION ON OROPUS—PSEUDO-PHILIPPUS—WAR AGAINST THE LEAGUE—METELLUS—MUMMIUS—CORINTH TAKEN—GREECE A ROMAN PROVINCE.

Two years after this, the battle of Zama put an end to the second Punic war, and the Romans, now relieved from their formidable enemies the Carthaginians, found a pretext for entering upon a fresh Greek campaign in the assistance which Philip had furnished to Carthage. Circumstances also which occurred in Greece itself supplied another pretence for declaring war against Philip.<sup>1</sup>

Two youths, natives of Acarnania, had unconsciously intruded upon the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries at Athens. They accordingly fell victims to the popular fury, and were put to death as guilty of sacrilege. Their death was not passed over unavenged by their incensed fellow-countrymen, who

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 200. Ol. cxlv. 1.

invaded and laid waste Attica. In this work of devastation they were aided by Philip. Thinking to take Athens by surprise, he laid siege to it, but the inhabitants were on their guard, and P. Sulpicius, with a fleet of twenty ships, came to their rescue: but before he withdrew his troops, he barbarously gratified his revengeful feelings by destroying the beautiful buildings and groves which adorned the suburbs. He did not even spare the Lyceum, the statues of the gods, and the tombs of the Attic heroes.

For a time the Romans carried on the war without making much progress; but two years afterwards, T. Quinctius Flaminius, who was consul for that year, effected an important change in Greek politics. He succeeded in detaching the Achæan league from Philip, and persuaded those states to make an alliance with Rome. Thus the Achæans, Athenians, and Ætolians, all fought for a time on the same side as the Romans, and Philip was left to fight his battles alone.<sup>1</sup>

The Macedonians now occupied a position in Epirus, but Flaminius drove them out of it, and joining the Ætolians, marched into Thessaly. Philip retreated before the victorious Roman into Macedonia, and the latter granted him a truce for the winter. Negotiations ensued which led to no result, and Philip employed the winter in raising an army of twenty-one thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry. The following year Philip marched into Thessaly, and endeavoured to occupy a town named

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 198. Ol. cxlv. 3.

Scotussa Flamininus, who as proconsul still retained the command, tried to do the same.

The hostile armies, therefore, came into collision at the range of hills called Cynoscephalæ (*the dogs' heads*) which were in the immediate neighbourhood. The infantry of the Romans was about equal to that of Philip; their cavalry a little superior in numbers. Philip was signally defeated; eight thousand of his troops were slain, and five thousand made prisoners.<sup>1</sup> He was forced to sue for peace, and to purchase it on the following humiliating terms:—the renunciation of his supremacy in Greece—the surrender of his fleet—the disbanding of his whole army, with the exception of fifteen thousand men—the withdrawal of all Macedonian garrisons from Greek towns—and the payment of a thousand talents in ten years towards defraying the expenses of the war. He was also compelled to deliver up his son Demetrius as a hostage for his future behaviour.

The enthusiasm with which the victorious proconsul was universally received was overwhelming, for he had gained for all the Greek cities independence, and the enjoyment of their own laws and institutions. It happened that the year following the battle of Cynoscephalæ was the period for the celebration of the Isthmian games, and Flamininus proceeded to Corinth in order to be present at them. There, in the presence of the assembled Greeks, he caused solemn proclamation to be made of their freedom in the name of the senate and people of Rome. He was welcomed with a tumult of applause, and so

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 197. Ol. cxlv. 4.

many wreaths of flowers were showered upon him, that he could scarcely endure the weight of them.<sup>1</sup> The Romans were hailed by every one as the champions of liberty throughout the world.

Although Flaminius promised so fairly, and was in all probability sincere, the Romans retained in their own hands the three strong fortresses of Acrocorinthus, Demetrias, and Chalcis. The Ætolians saw that so long as this was the case there was danger lest Greece should only have exchanged the supremacy of Macedonia for that of Rome, and openly remonstrated with Flaminius. Having done so much for Rome, they probably expected that their remonstrances would meet with attention, but their hopes were destined to be disappointed, and thenceforth they became the firebrand which again set Greece in a blaze.

They first intrigued with Nabis, who had succeeded Machanidas as tyrant of Sparta, and instigated him to commence hostilities. At the ratification of the peace, after the battle of Cynoscephalæ, which promised the independence of all Greek cities, Nabis had refused to give up possession of Argos. Flaminius, therefore, with the Achæans, declared war against him. At the head of an army of eleven thousand men he invaded Laconia, seized the town of Gytheum, which contained a quantity of military stores, and attacked Sparta itself. The tyrant, therefore, was forced, not only to liberate Argos, but to purchase the undisturbed enjoyment of his tyranny by surrendering his fleet, giving hostages, and paying a large sum of

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 196. Ol. cxlvi. 1.

money. Greece was generally dissatisfied with this arrangement, but the Romans accorded him their protection, regardless of the peace and happiness of Greece, in order to maintain for their own advantage the balance of power.

Nabis had not long made peace, when, at the instigation of the Ætolians, he broke it. Philopœmen, who was again Strategus, attacked and defeated him, and blockaded him in Sparta. The faithless Ætolians then turned against him, seized the citadel of Sparta, and murdered him; but the Spartans rose up in arms, cut most of the assailants to pieces, and sold the survivors as slaves. In the confusion between the two opposing parties, Philopœmen made himself master of Sparta, and added it, as well as the whole of Laconia, to the Achæan league.<sup>1</sup>

In the course of the same year, Antiochus III. king of Syria, at the invitation of the Ætolians, landed in Greece, at the head of an army of more than ten thousand men. He was immediately appointed commander-in-chief of the Ætolian confederacy. He wintered at Chalcis, and in the following spring the Roman consul, M. Acilius Glabrio, invaded Thessaly, and occupied the pass of Thermopylæ. Here he defeated Antiochus, and drove him back into Asia. He then forced the Ætolians to solicit peace, and granted them a truce for six months.<sup>2</sup> Scarcely, however, had this period expired, when they recommenced hostilities, and in the following year they were reduced to complete submission. They recognised the supremacy of Rome, and engaged to pay

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 192. Ol. cxlvii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 190. Ol. cxlvii. 3.

five hundred talents. The power of the league was entirely destroyed, and henceforth it existed only in name.<sup>1</sup>

The Achæan league lingered on, deprived of its independence, and paralysed by Roman protection. Still, however, it exerted itself to maintain the mere outward semblance of power. Sparta, which had involuntarily joined it, showed an inclination to rebel against its authority, and when the Achæans remonstrated, refused satisfaction. Philopœmen, therefore, marched against the city and took it, put to death the leading citizens, abolished the old aristocratic constitution, and established a democratical government upon its ruins.<sup>2</sup> The Messenians followed the example of Sparta, and revolted from the league.

This was the last exploit in which the brave Philopœmen was engaged. The veteran warrior led the expedition against the rebels, although he had now reached the age of seventy, and had just risen from a bed of sickness. In the course of the action he was engaged in a skirmish of cavalry; he fought with consummate bravery, and when compelled to retreat, still occupied the post of danger. Unfortunately, he fell from his horse, and was taken prisoner. He was carried to Messenè, and thrown into a dungeon. The next day he was brought to a mock trial and condemned, and drank the hemlock with a courage equal to that of Socrates and Phocion. His death was speedily avenged, for peace was granted to the Messenians only on the most degrading conditions, and all who had a share in Philopœmen's death were stoned.

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 189. Ol. cxlvii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> B.C. 188. Ol. cxlviii. 1.

Lycortas, who succeeded him as strategus, was the father of Polybius the historian, and Polybius himself, then a youth, bore the urn containing the hero's ashes in the funeral procession.<sup>1</sup>

It was not long before the course of events furnished the Romans with the opportunity for which they wished of recommencing hostilities against the king of Macedon. When Antiochus was defeated and driven out of Europe, some fortresses in Thrace and some towns in Thessaly had been assigned by the victorious Romans to Philip. In process of time Eumenes, who had succeeded Attalus on the throne of Pergamus, laid claim to the former, and the Thes-salians demanded that the latter should be restored to independence. An appeal being made to Rome, the senate sent commissioners to investigate the case, and these after inquiry gave their decision against Philip. He accordingly sent his son Demetrius to Rome in order to negotiate. This prince, as has been already stated, had formerly been a hostage at Rome, and was a great favourite with the Roman people; the senate, therefore, received him kindly, but contrived to inspire him with feelings of jealousy and suspicion against Perseus, who was his elder but illegitimate brother. In consequence of this, Perseus accused Demetrius to his father of treason, and at last persuaded Philip to cause him to be poisoned.

By this crime Perseus, on the death of Philip, ascended the throne of Macedon.<sup>2</sup> He found the

<sup>1</sup> This year was marked by the death of three illustrious contemporaries, Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Scipio.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 179. Ol. cl. 2.

army efficient and numerous, and the financial resources of his kingdom in a prosperous condition, as though the foresight of his predecessor had been



Coin of Perseus

Reverse

devoted to making preparations in case of war breaking out with Rome. His first step was to strengthen himself by a matrimonial alliance with the daughter of Antiochus Epiphanes, his next to renew the treaty of peace which Philip had made with the Romans. The commencement of his reign was marked by a spirit of liberality and moderation in his dealings with the Greeks, as well as in the government of his own subjects. He succeeded in obtaining the favour and popularity which he sought by this course of conduct, but eventually this very popularity aroused the jealous fears of the Romans and caused his downfall. They thought his influence over the Greeks would become dangerous, and they anxiously sought for an excuse to break with him. Nevertheless, seven years of mutual animosity and hollow tranquillity passed away before they found a pretence for war.

At length Eumenes king of Pergamus brought an accusation against him before the senate, in which it was alleged that he oppressed the towns in Thrace.



Eumenes on his return from Rome was assassinated in a mountain pass near Delphi, and Perseus was suspected of having been the instigator of the murder. He by this time thought himself sufficiently strong to set the Romans at defiance, and accordingly he anticipated them in the declaration of war.<sup>1</sup> He did not, however, show vigour and firmness equal to the readiness with which he commenced hostilities. During three years he was partially successful, but he was undecided and procrastinating, and often lost by fruitless negotiations advantages which he gained by the sword.

When the Roman consul, L. Æmilius Paulus, appeared in Macedonia, he found Perseus strongly intrenched on the banks of the river Enipeus; he soon drove him from his position, gave him battle near Pydna, and within the space of one hour the Macedonians were totally defeated and cut to pieces.<sup>2</sup> Twenty thousand, it is said, fell on this decisive and bloody field. Perseus fled to the island of Samothrace, where he surrendered and was taken prisoner together with all his family. After having for some time been confined in a Roman dungeon, he was brought out to adorn the triumphal procession of the conqueror. He was afterwards kept at Alba as a prisoner of war, and died after some years a victim of privation and cruelty. The kingdom of Macedonia, which since the accession of Philip had existed for two centuries, was divided into four separate states, each under the jurisdiction of an executive council. The principles on which the government was admi-

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 171. Ol. clii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 168. Ol. cliii. 1.

nistered were oligarchical, and the inhabitants were subjected to tyrannical regulations of so oppressive a nature that they rapidly fell into a state of irretrievable misery.

Throughout this war the Achæans, much against their inclination, had fought on the side of Rome. Still they were far too independent for Roman policy, and many of the noblest of them were suspected of favouring the Macedonians. This was sufficient reason for persecution, and Callicrates, a traitor to his country and a tool of Rome, informed against one thousand leading men as friends of Perseus. These, amongst whom was the historian Polybius, were sent to Rome to undergo their trial. They were, however, never brought before the senate, but were dispersed as hostages amongst the municipal towns of Italy.

After an exile of seventeen years, when their number was reduced by death to three hundred, the survivors, through the generous interference of Cato and the younger Scipio, were permitted to return home. Many of the Ætolians were carried to Rome as prisoners, and more than five hundred put to death; seventy towns in Epirus were given up to pillage, and fifteen thousand of the wretched inhabitants sold into slavery. Callicrates was made general of the league, but the very children in the streets hooted at him as a traitor.

Athens sank lower and lower, until she reached such a depth of poverty and degradation as to plunder the town of Oropus.<sup>1</sup> The injured inhabitants appealed to the senate. They appointed the Sicyonians

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 156. Ol. clvi. 1.

as arbitrators, who fined the aggressors five hundred talents. Unable to pay this vast sum, the Athenians sent the three philosophers, Carneades, Critolaus, and Diogenes to Rome<sup>1</sup> to plead their cause. Their eloquence was so far successful that the fine was reduced to one hundred talents. This, however, was far beyond the means of their impoverished treasury, and they committed another act of aggression upon the Oropians. The aggrieved party now appealed to the Achæans, but they would not help them until the influence of their strategus, who was a Spartan, was purchased by a bribe. They then threatened to interfere, and the Athenians desisted from their injustice to the Oropians.

For some years subsequent to this no event of historical interest occurred in Greece; but at length a disturbance in Macedonia furnished the Romans with a reason for still further alterations in the government of Macedonia, and its reduction into the condition of a province of the empire. A man of low birth, named Andriscus, claimed to be the son of Perseus, and heir to his kingdom.<sup>2</sup> For this reason he is called in history Pseudo-Philippus (*Philip the Pretender*). His plot was unsuccessful, and he therefore fled to the court of Demetrius king of Syria, who surrendered him into the hands of the Romans. From them he made his escape to Thrace, where he met with sufficient support to invade Macedonia and usurp the title of king. Thence he marched into Thessaly, where the Roman prætor, L. Cæcilius Metellus, gave him battle and gained a complete victory. He was

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 155. Ol. clvi. 2.<sup>2</sup> B. C. 149. Ol. clvii. 4.

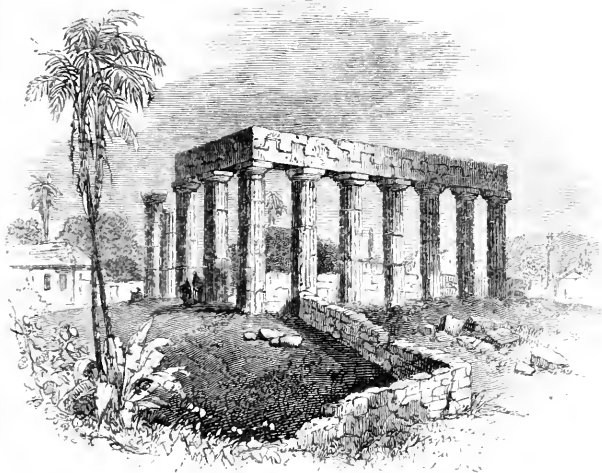
taken prisoner and executed, Macedonia and Thessaly submitted to the conqueror, and of the former kingdom Metellus was appointed governor.<sup>1</sup>

During the war with Philip the Pretender, a quarrel had broken out between the Spartans and Achæans about the possession of some frontier territory. When Critolaus was strategus, he summoned a congress of the states at Corinth, and commissioners were despatched thither by Metellus to settle the dispute.<sup>2</sup> They demanded the final recognition of the independence of Sparta and some other states. This demand excited a violent disturbance, the commissioners were assaulted, or at least insulted, and after some fruitless negotiations, Rome declared war against the league. Amongst the Achæans all was confusion, and Critolaus proved utterly unfit for the command. At the head of an army suddenly raised, undrilled and ill-disciplined, he marched for Thermopylæ, with the intention of preventing the entrance of Metellus into Greece. When, however, the Romans approached, the Achæans fled before them, were pursued into Locris, and were there defeated with great loss. Critolaus himself fell whilst endeavouring to escape. The conquering army now took Thebes, which was deserted by its inhabitants on their approach, and destroyed the whole city except the citadel. Diæus, who had succeeded Critolaus as general, made a last effort, raised an army of fourteen thousand men, consisting principally of slaves, and when Metellus made him an offer of peace, he contemptuously rejected it. Metellus then marched onwards to the isthmus, but

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 148. Ol. clviii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 146. Ol. clviii. 3.

before he could reach it, the consul Mummius, his successor, had landed there. In a skirmish of cavalry the Achæans gained some advantage, and with this they were so elated that they voluntarily offered the consul battle at Leucopetra, in the neighbourhood of Corinth, and were totally defeated. Diæus, who in this desperate encounter had fought gallantly, fled to Megalopolis, his native town, with the remnant of his army. He put his wife to death to save her from slavery, and after setting fire to his house, poisoned himself.



Doric Columns, Temple of Minerva, Corinth.

Within three days after this battle, which decided for ever the fate of Greece, Mummius and his army marched into Corinth unopposed. He burnt the city, put the male inhabitants to the sword, and sold

the women and children as slaves. Some of the treasures of Greek art which adorned this wealthy city were destroyed, the rest were sent by sea to Rome to adorn his triumph, and thus gave the Romans a taste for Greek refinement.

“Where, Corinth, are thy glories now,  
Thy ancient wealth, thy castled brow,  
Thy solemn fanes, thy halls of state,  
Thy high-born dames, thy crowded gate?  
There’s not a ruin left to tell  
Where Corinth stood, where Corinth fell;  
The Nereids of thy double sea  
Alone remain to wail for thee.”

ANTIPATER, imitated by G. SMITH.

As a reward, his fellow-countrymen conferred upon Mummius the honorary title of Achaicus. The Achæan league was dissolved, and commissioners were sent from Rome to aid him in regulating the future condition of Greece. The whole country was formed into one Roman province called Achaia. Oligarchical constitutions were everywhere established, with only the two following exceptions, Athens and Sparta; the former of which having taken no part in the war, and the latter having sided with the Romans, were allowed to retain the independence of free states.

The existence of Hellas as a nation was now at an end; her national spirit had expired long before. Henceforward she was absorbed in the mighty empire of Rome, and the rest of her history forms only a subordinate portion of that of her conqueror.



Minerva

## CHAPTER XXXII.

LITERARY HISTORY — MIDDLE AND NEW COMEDY — SICILIAN ORIGIN OF RHETORIC—SCHOOL OF GORGIAS AT ATHENS—THE TEN ATTIC ORATORS — PHILOSOPHY—PLATO—HIS LIFE, STYLE, AND PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEM—SPEUSIPPUS, HIS SUCCESSOR — ARISTOTLE — TUTOR TO ALEXANDER THE GREAT — THE CHARACTER OF HIS MIND — HIS LEARNING — THE VARIETY OF HIS WORKS—HIS RELIGIOUS CREED—THE CYRENAIC SECT — CYNICS—EPICURUS—HIS CHARACTER AND TEACHING—STOICS—ZENO—LATER GREEK WRITERS—VITALITY OF THE GREEK LANGUAGE.

THE political history of Greece has now been brought to a close, and it only remains to give a summary of its literary history from the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war. The decay of tragedy has been already traced. Comedy still survived, but in an

altered form. Aristophanes had already before his death introduced that style which has been called by critics the Middle Attic comedy, a satire upon society, not upon individuals, in which real persons were no longer placed upon the stage. This formed the transition between the old and the new comedy, which flourished during the first half of the third century before Christ. The principal authors of this species of comedy were Philemon of Syracuse, and Menander, the pupil of Theophrastus.

The death of the former was contemporaneous with the fall of Athens. The city and home of the Muses had surrendered to Antigonos, and the aged poet, now in his ninetieth year, was on his death-bed. He lifted up his eyes from his last comedy, which he was just finishing, and saw nine maidens leaving the room. They were the Muses. Philemon completed the concluding scene, and immediately expired. The comedy of Menander, which has been the model of the comedy of manners and society ever since, survives only in a few short fragments; his wit and wisdom are reflected in the imitations of Lucian, and some of his plots are transferred into the plays of Plautus and Terence.

Although poetry declined, oratory and philosophy still flourished. In democratic Athens, eloquence was an absolutely essential qualification for every one who aimed at influence and distinction. The Athenians, moreover, were by nature orators, and eloquence is one of the chief characteristics of every kind of Athenian literature. But notwithstanding this, oratory, as an art, was of Sicilian origin. The first systematic



teaching of rhetoric was in the Sicilian schools of Tisias and Corax. Gorgias the sophist founded a school of rhetoric at Athens, and numbered amongst



Menander.

his pupils Alcibiades and Critias. Oratory, under the instructions of the sophists, became an elaborate study. The Athenian orator carefully composed and wrote his speech in private before he delivered

it in public ; he bestowed as much care upon it as he would on an essay intended for publication.

Some orations which have come down to us were written as rhetorical exercises, and never spoken at all, others were written by one man and delivered by another. This is the case with some of the orations of Isocrates, in which are displayed the greatest perfection of style and composition. "That great orator," wrote Cicero, "and perfect teacher nursed his talents within the walls of his house ; the light of the forum shone not on his glory."

The earliest orations now extant are fifteen by Antiphon. He was the instructor of Thucydides, and took an active part in the revolution which established the Four Hundred. When their power was overthrown he was impeached and executed. The Alexandrian grammarians enumerated ten Attic orators, of whom Antiphon is the first. The rest are Andocides, Lysias, Isocrates, Isæus, Æschines, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, Hyperides, and Dinarchus.

Andocides was an Athenian of noble family and oligarchical politics. He was involved in the charge brought against Alcibiades of mutilating the Hermæ, and the oration which he delivered in his own defence is still extant. His political opinions involved him in many changes of fortune, and at last he died in exile. His orations are valuable rather for the information which they contain, than for the eloquence of their style.

Lysias was a Syracusan by birth, and resided as a *metic* at Athens. His politics were democratic, and, consequently, he was exiled by the thirty tyrants.

When the constitution was restored, he returned to Athens, where he resided until his death. He was a "chamber counsel" rather than a statesman; all his speeches except one were written for his clients; his language is the purest Attic, and his style graceful, simple, and perspicuous, but deficient in vigour and pathetic power.

Isocrates was the founder of the most flourishing school of rhetoric, and numbered some of the most distinguished orators amongst his pupils. "From this school," says Cicero, "as from the Trojan horse, princes alone proceeded—such were Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Æschines and Dinarchus." In a passage in which the great Roman orator expresses in a single word the characteristic merit of each Attic orator, and attributes subtlety to Lysias, acuteness to Hyperides, sound to Æschines, force to Demosthenes, he assigns sweetness to Isocrates. He was an Athenian by birth, and a devoted patriot, although he took no active part in public life. When the battle of Chæronea put an end to the independence of Greece, so severely did he feel the blow that he died by his own hand, in the ninety-ninth year of his age.

Of Isæus little is known. He was a pupil of Lysias and Isocrates, and one of the instructors of Demosthenes. All his speeches extant refer to causes connected with the Athenian law of inheritance, and, therefore, though not interesting, are valuable.

In Demosthenes, who stands next in the Alexandrian canon, are displayed the utmost power and capability of Greek eloquence. If the progress of this kind of literature is compared with the history of those

stirring times in which Demosthenes lived, we cannot but come to the conclusion that Athenian oratory was not raised to its highest degree of perfection by the instructions of the rhetoric school, but that it was finally developed by national perils, political difficulties, and the death-struggles of Hellenic independence. Study, doubtless, did much ; but the battle of political life did more to form the vigorous eloquence of the greatest of Greek orators—Demosthenes. During the war with Philip of Macedon there was, as has been shown, an anti-national party. The members of this party were in the interest of their country's enemy. The traitor was now fighting foot to foot with the patriot. It was, then, this state of things which lighted up within him that patriotic feeling which was his guide and loadstar during his whole life, which led him to devote his energies and talents to the fruitless task of saving his ruined country, and which inspired the noble bursts of honest indignation, the ardent love of right and hatred of wrong, which call forth our admiration in his heart-stirring speeches.

Demosthenes<sup>1</sup> was the son of a wealthy sword-cutler of the same name, who lived in the Attic borough of Pæania, and who died when he was seven years old. At his death he left the care of his surviving son and daughter, and the management of his property, amounting to the handsome sum of fourteen talents, to three guardians. So dishonest were these men, that when Demosthenes came of age only seventy minæ remained. He immediately prosecuted his guardians, who took advantage of all the subtleties

<sup>1</sup> Born probably B. C. 385.

of the Athenian law, and thus, notwithstanding two decisions in his favour, protracted the suit for three years. At length a verdict was given against them with ten talents damages.

During the continuance of the suit Demosthenes had only the resources of his own abilities to depend upon, and he determined to study oratory. By diligent perseverance he overcame his natural imperfections, which, if neglected, would have disqualified him for public life. He is said to have conquered an impediment in his speech, which was so great as to expose him to the nickname of "the Stammerer," by speaking with pebbles in his mouth, and to have learnt by declaiming on the sea shore, whilst the waves were roaring, to address without fear the stormy assemblage of six thousand Athenian citizens. Owing to his attachment to the patriotic party, he incurred the hostility of an influential citizen named Midias, who was opposed to him in politics. Midias assaulted him during the Dionysian festival, and Demosthenes accordingly brought an action against him, but compromised the matter for thirty minæ. The oration which he wrote on the occasion is still extant, but in an unfinished state.

The principal events of his public career have already been related in the course of this history. It is, therefore, enough to say here, that the honesty and truthfulness of his character gave an impressiveness and vigour to his eloquence which have never been equalled. No one who reads his speeches could ever suspect him of insincerity. There is a reality about every word he utters which speaks for itself, and

shows that he was wrapped up heart and soul in the cause which he was pleading. Action, manner, and delivery, were thought by him more important than even matter or style. When asked what were the first, second, and third things in public speaking, his answer was, Action, action, action. His practice agreed with his theory, for when Æschines read to the Rhodians the speech of his rival against Ctesiphon, he exclaimed, "If you had heard him deliver it, how much greater would have been your applause." Sixty of his speeches are extant, and of these his Philippics, in which he lashed the ambition of the Macedonian king, are the most vehement and spirited.

Æschines,<sup>1</sup> the rival and bitter enemy of Demosthenes, was a member of a good Attic family, and his two brothers achieved distinction. In early youth he assisted his father in a small school of which he was the master. He was then secretary to the orator Aristophon, made an unsuccessful attempt as an actor, and afterwards became a soldier, and distinguished himself at Mantinea, and in other battles. Three times he was sent as ambassador to Philip, and twice, by Philip's influence, as a reward for his unpatriotic zeal in advancing his interests, was delegated as Pylagoras to the Amphictyonic Council. It was his advice in that assembly which led to the destruction of the unfortunate Locrians. After his oration against Demosthenes on the Crown he went into exile to Asia Minor, founded a school of rhetoric at Rhodes, and finally died at Samos. Of his numerous orations, only three are extant. Inferior as he was to

<sup>1</sup> Born B. C. 389.

Demosthenes in character, thoughts, and language, his orations prove that intellectually, although not morally, he was a worthy antagonist.

Hyperides<sup>1</sup> was a staunch and self-denying patriot like his friend Demosthenes. He was trained in philosophy by Plato, and in eloquence by Isocrates. Always firm in his opposition to Philip, he was never suspected of corruption. After the battle of Crannon, he fled to Ægina, where the soldiers of Antipater cut out that tongue which had so often denounced Athenian treachery and Macedonian ambition, and then put him to death. Only fragments of his sixty-one orations remain. The most important of these is part of a funeral oration which he delivered in honour of those who fell in the Lamian war; but all critics are unanimous in ascribing to him acute reasoning, graceful wit, and sweet and harmonious diction. His style was defective in grandeur and spirit, but touching and full of feeling.

Lycurgus was an Athenian citizen of noble family, a pupil of Plato and Isocrates, and an intimate friend of Demosthenes. He is more celebrated for his integrity and administrative talents, than even for his eloquence. Three times he was appointed minister of finance, and therefore during fifteen years he had the control of the Athenian revenue, and raised it to its highest point. He was equally judicious in employing the resources thus placed at his disposal, and not only embellished Athens with some public buildings, but also added to the strength of its fortifications. At his death he was honoured with a public

<sup>1</sup> Probably born B.C. 396.

funeral and a bronze statue. One of his orations and a few fragments still remain, and though without much grace, power, or elegance, his style is that of a straightforward, upright, and practical man.

Dinarchus<sup>1</sup> stands last on the list of the ten Athenian orators. He was a native of Corinth, and a pupil of Theophrastus. With him oratory rapidly declined, and thus he owes his celebrity principally to his being left without rivals. He made a large fortune by writing speeches for other orators to deliver, and becoming an object of suspicion, owing to his attachment to Philip's party, he went for a time into exile to Eubœa. He was not a man of original genius, but merely a skilful imitator of the style of Demosthenes.

Demades, although not one of the Attic ten, must not be passed over without mention. He rose by the prostitution of brilliant talents to fraud and treachery. According to the received account he was originally a common sailor, and possessed such natural powers and extreme readiness, that, unlike his contemporaries, he spoke *ex-tempore*, and without previous preparation. He was profligate in his private character, as well as an unprincipled politician, and as he lived by treachery, so his death was owing, as has already been related, to his insincerity.<sup>2</sup>

Such were the great professors and models of Greek eloquence. Their imitators reproduced the outward form, but the living soul which animated it had departed for ever. In this literary epoch philosophy had her greatest representatives, Plato and Aristotle.

Plato was born at Athens, or, as some say, at

<sup>1</sup> Born B. C. 360.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 319.



Ægina,<sup>1</sup> in the plague-stricken year in which the noble-minded Pericles died. His boyhood, consequently, was passed during that scene of suffering and demoralization, the Peloponnesian war. His real name was Aristocles, but he was called Plato (from



Plato.

πλατύς, *broad*,) because of the breadth of his shoulders. In his early years he devoted himself to poetry, but struck with his immeasurable inferiority to Homer, burnt his epics, and commenced the study of philosophy.

At twenty he became a pupil of Socrates, for whom

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 429.

he ever felt the warmest affection. He travelled in Italy, Sicily, Cyrene, and Egypt, and when he resided at Athens gave gratuitous instruction in the groves of the Academy. He died on his eighty-first birth-day, with his mental powers unimpaired, and whilst employed in the very act of writing.

The following is the translation of an epigram written to his memory :—

“Earth in her friendly bosom the body of Plato embraces,  
But his soul immortal holds rank with the gods and the godlike.”

The style of Plato is the most beautiful Attic prose. We see in it the genius of the poet and the accuracy of the philosopher. Cicero said, that if Jupiter talked with men, he would converse in the language of Plato. He threw his discourses into the form of dialogues, in which his beloved master Socrates always occupies the principal place. Others had adopted the same form before him, but none ever equalled him in dramatic effect.

Plato systematized the teaching of Socrates, and with a view to that great object probably examined the whole range of Greek philosophy, and moulded its unconnected parts into one harmonious whole. The keystone of his creed is the divine nature and necessary immortality of the soul; adopting the Socratic position that knowledge is nothing more than reminiscence, he infers that the soul must have known all truth previously to its connexion with the body, and that as it never came into existence, but was from eternity of the same essence as the Deity, so it never ceases to exist.

The object of all science is, according to his teaching, the true, the eternal, the immutable; that is, God. Man's duty is to know God and his attributes, and to aim at being under the practical influence of this knowledge. He taught that a belief in God, as a rational and intelligent Being, is innate in man, an instinctive, irresistible conviction, and that as the order of Nature proves the existence of a Great First Cause, so the perfect beauty which characterises it is a proof of the goodness of the Deity.

As a believer in immortality, death was to him a subject not of dread, but of hope; not of gloomy, but of cheerful contemplation. He strives to infuse, not only a tranquil and resigned spirit at the approach of death, but an actual wish and desire for death as the condition of attaining immortality. His theories respecting the condition of the soul after death are embellished with mythical representations. In his *Phædon*, in which he represents Socrates as discussing in his last hours the subject of a future life, we find beautiful but fanciful descriptions of the unseen world. Of this kind is his highly poetical idea that the sensual man will, as a restless ghost, visible to mortal eyes because of the bodily impurities still clinging to and defiling the transparent and invisible spirit, haunt his grave, longing to rejoin the body which he loved, with all its propensities and passions.

The ethical system of Plato is the direct result of his metaphysics. In the soul, the reason is the governing power, and the emotions and appetites the subordinate members. When, therefore, the reason

does not demand more than its right, or the other parts refuse their due obedience, that constitutional state results which constitutes virtue. Plato imagined a close analogy between ethics and politics. In his "Republic," he represents three orders of the state as corresponding to the three parts of the soul. The governing power answered to the reason, the warrior class to the emotions, the working classes to the passions, who were to be kept under control, whilst the warriors were to aid the government in its task. Each rank, moreover, helped to determine the moral quality of the body politic. Its prudence was due to the rulers, its courage to the warriors, its temperance to the craftsmen, and its justice to the harmonious mixture of all the other virtues combined.

Such are a few leading features of the philosophy of Plato. His successor as head of the Academy was his nephew Speusippus, and his doctrines underwent little change until the end of the third century before Christ. The Old Academy then gave place to the Middle, which in its turn yielded to the New, about fifty years later. Of both these Academies the characteristic feature was scepticism.

The most distinguished pupil of Plato was Aristotle, the founder of the Peripatetic school. He was born at Stagira, in Chalcidice.<sup>1</sup> His father Nicomachus was physician to Amyntas II. king of Macedon. At seventeen he was left an orphan, but an ample fortune enabled him to prosecute his philosophical studies at Athens. His zeal and thirst for knowledge were so great, that Plato was accustomed to say, that

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 384.

Xenocrates required the spur, but Aristotle the bit. When Alexander the Great was thirteen years old, Aristotle at the request of Philip became his tutor, and, doubtless, much that was great and noble in the



Aristotle

character of the conqueror was owing to the influence of his instructive lessons.

Soon after the death of Philip, Aristotle returned to Athens, and the state assigned to him the Lyceum, in the walks of which (*οἱ περίπατοι*), he delivered his lectures, and hence his disciples were called Peripatetics. He was most indefatigable as a writer, as well as in his occupation as a public teacher. In thirteen years he composed as much as would fill thirty octavo volumes, of which about one-fourth survive.

In his literary labours he was munificently assisted by his royal pupil, and the collections of specimens in natural history which Alexander's campaigns enabled him to transmit to Athens formed the materials for his "History of Animals," the value of which is becoming daily more appreciated by naturalists. In his old age his enemies brought against him a charge of impiety, and, warned by the fate of Socrates, he fled to Eubœa. In his absence he was condemned to death, and in the following year he died at the age of sixty-two.

Aristotle was the exact opposite of his master, the ideal and speculative Plato. He was eminently a practical man; his great object, as he himself says, was not knowledge but practice. In the age in which he lived, the fire of genius was extinguished, and was succeeded by learning and criticism, and so, although he had an orderly and logical mind, and a calm inquiring spirit, he had not a spark of poetry, fancy, or imagination in his composition. He is cold and unimpressive, but intellectually convincing. His style is often pure and always unaffected, but entirely destitute of grace and ornament. His treatises are perfect models of order and arrangement. Many of his works bear marks of being mere outlines of lectures put together as helps to the memory, or for the use of those who heard them delivered. His vast erudition embraced within its sphere every branch of philosophy, and even in his extant works we find treatises on logic, (a science which he systematized and brought to perfection,) metaphysics, physical science, physiology, mathematics, ethics, politics, natural history,

and belles lettres, including rhetoric, poetry and grammar.

His lectures have been divided into two classes, namely, *esoteric*, called also *acroamatic*, and *exoteric* or *encyclic*. They were each intended for a separate class of hearers. The former were addressed to those who pursued different branches of science in a philosophic spirit, the latter to those who were going through a course or curriculum of general study.

Aristotle maintained the unity of the Deity, that God is the Great First Cause, the Supreme Good, the highest object of scientific contemplation; but still his views are indefinite and unsatisfactory, for it is impossible to determine whether according to his theory God and the Universe are not identical, and therefore whether his theism is anything more than pantheism.

Other sects of philosophers owed their origin to the oral teaching of Socrates. The Cyrenaic sect was founded by Aristippus of Cyrene, whose luxurious and self-indulgent habits soon corrupted the pure doctrines of his great master, and he taught that the great object of life was the pursuit of pleasure. The Cynics, whose first teacher was Antisthenes, pushed the doctrine of independence of the world to a vicious extent, and set at defiance the common customs of social life. Their name is derived from the *Cynosarges*, a school in which their founder lectured.

Epicurus, the founder of the Epicureans, was the son of poor parents, and a schoolmaster by profession. He adopted the Cyrenaic axiom, that pleasure is the chief good, but he purified it by drawing a severe

and uncompromising distinction between lawful and unlawful pleasures. He was a man of almost Christian gentleness; stoical grossness and contempt of



Epicurus.

refinement disgusted him, and he was careful to make pure intellectual pleasure only the *Summum bonum*. His views of man's duty to God were disinterested; his life was simple and frugal, diametrically opposed to intemperance and excess. He taught by example as well as by precept, that he who would be happy must cultivate wisdom and justice, because virtue and happiness are inseparable. He attached his disciples to him by affection, submitted to the agonies



of a painful disease with patient resignation, and died with a heroism which no Stoic could have surpassed.

Still his moral standard was a dangerous one; it was likely to mislead and liable to be corrupted. This was proved by the event, and his followers in after ages by their licentiousness brought upon Epicurus an obloquy which he did not himself deserve. However the philosopher might have explained the true nature of pleasure, men, as was to be expected, set up their own corrupt standard, which their passions and appetites led them to prefer. Moreover, Epicurus denied the immortality of the soul; and although he believed in a God, he did not believe in his moral government. This is practical atheism, and contributed much to the depravation of his system. Nothing so surely demoralizes as destroying the hopes of eternity. Man cannot commune with God, or soar on high to spiritual things, unless he hopes to be spiritualized, and to see God as he is.

Lastly, the Stoic sect was founded by Zeno, who, being shipwrecked off the coast of Attica, went to Athens and opened a school in the Stoa Pœcile, (*painted arcade*,) from which locality his followers derived their name. His teaching was eminently practical, and inculcated contempt of pain, the strictest temperance, and self-denial.

The era of Greek classical literature may be considered as having arrived at its close with Aristotle. Learning still remained, but the fountains of genius were frozen. Greece however and her colonies continued to produce at intervals writers whose works will live

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 299.

for ever. Theophrastus, the pupil of Aristotle, amuses us with his shrewd discrimination of character, and Euclid will never cease to teach the elements of geometry. Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, charm with the Doric simplicity of their bucolic poetry; the hymns and elegies of Callimachus furnished models to the poets of Rome. Amongst historians, Polybius and Pausanias have done much for antiquity, and the biographies of Plutarch and the witty dialogues of Lucian can never lose their popularity.

Notwithstanding the decline and fall of Greek nationality, and that now—

“Greece is living Greece no more,—”

it is not so with the Greek language. It is scarcely correct to term Greek a dead language. It has degenerated, but has never perished or disappeared. Reckoning from the earliest works extant up to the present day, it boasts of an existence measured by nearly one-half the duration of the human race.

The earliest Roman historians wrote in Greek, because they had as yet no native language fitted to express their thoughts. The Romans in the days of Cicero made Greek the foundation of a liberal education, and frequented Athens as a University for the purpose of studying Greek literature and philosophy. The great orator, in his defence of the poet Archias, informs us that Greek literature was read by almost all the nations of the world, whilst Latin was still confined within very narrow boundaries.

At the commencement of the Christian era, Greek was so prevalent throughout the civilized world, that

by means of it the doctrines of the Gospel were published to the Gentile world, and even the Jewish historian Josephus wrote a remarkably pure Greek style. In the time of Hadrian, Greek was the favourite language of literary men. The early Christian Fathers and the Byzantine historians wrote and spoke Greek. The Princess Anna Comnena, daughter of the Emperor Alexis, and Eustathius, the commentator on Homer, both of whom flourished in the twelfth century after the birth of Christ, are celebrated for the singular purity of their style, and Philelphus, who lived in the fifteenth century, and had visited Constantinople, states in a letter dated A.D. 1451, that although much bad Greek was spoken in that capital, the court, and especially the ladies, retained the elegance and dignity which characterise the purest writers of the classical ages.

Even now, Greek is spoken at Athens, although its harmonious modulations are forgotten and its delicate pronunciation no longer heard. The language, of course, exhibits those features which constitute the principal differences between the ancient and modern languages, but still it is upon the whole wonderfully preserved, and every year approaches more nearly the classical original. A well educated modern Greek would find less difficulty in understanding the writings of Homer and Xenophon, than an Englishman would experience in reading Chaucer or Spenser.





Didrachma of Sybars and Reverse.

## CIVIL CHRONOLOGY.

B. C.	OLYMP.	
1184.	—	Troy taken.
1124.	—	Æolic migration.
1104.	—	Doric migration, or return of the Heraclidæ.
1044.	—	Ionic migration.
884.	—	Legislation of Lycurgus, and re- vival of the Olympic games by Iphitus.
776.	I. 1.	Victory of Coræbus. First Olym- piad.
752.	VII. 1.	First decennial Archon at Athens.
748.	VIII. I.	Pheidon, tyrant of Argos, coins copper and silver.
743.	IX. 2.	First Messenian war begins. During this war many Greek colonies were founded in Sicily.
724.	XIV. 1.	First Messenian war ends.

B. C.	OLYMP.	
716.	XVI. 1.	Commencement of the Lydian dynasty, which terminated with Croesus.
711.	XVII. 2.	Revolt of the Medes from the Assyrians.
708.	XVIII. 1.	Tarentum founded. Other Greek colonies in Italy were founded about this period.
685.	XXIII. 4.	Second Messenian war begins. First annual Archons at Athens.
668.	XXVIII. 1.	Second Messenian war ends.
664.	XXIX. 1.	Naval engagement between the Coreyreans and Corinthians; the first recorded in history.
658.	XXX. 3.	Byzantium founded by the Megarians.
624.	XXXIX. 1.	Legislation of Draco.
612.	XLII. 1.	Insurrection of Cylon.
606.	XLIII. 3.	Taking of Nineveh by Cyaxares.
600.	XLV. 1.	Massilia founded by the Phocæans.
594.	XLVI. 3.	Legislation and Archonship of Solon.
585.	XLVIII. 4.	Death of Periander.
570.	LII. 3.	Death of Pittacus.
560.	LV. 1.	Tyranny of Pisistratus begins.
559.	LV. 2.	End of the Median empire.
546.	LVIII. 3.	End of Lydian empire. Sardis taken by Cyrus.
538.	LX. 3.	Cyrus takes Babylon.
529.	LXII. 4.	Accession of Cambyses.
527.	LXIII. 2.	Death of Pisistratus.
521.	LXIV. 4.	Accession of Darius, son of Hystaspes.
514.	LXVI. 3.	Assassination of Hipparchus.
510.	LXVII. 3.	Expulsion of the Pisistratidæ. Constitution of Clisthenes.

B. C.	OLYMP.	
508.	LXVIII. 1.	Recal of Clisthenes.
501.	LXIX. 4.	Blockade of Naxos.
499.	LXX. 2.	Commencement of Ionian revolt.
497.	LXX. 4.	Death of Aristagoras.
494.	LXXI. 3.	Battle of Ladè.
492.	LXXII. 1.	Invasion of Mardonius.
490.	LXXII. 3.	Expedition of Datis and Artaphernes. Battle of Marathon.
485.	LXXIII. 4.	Accession of Xerxes. Gelon tyrant of Syracuse.
481.	LXXIV. 4.	Xerxes starts for Susa.
480.	LXXV. 1.	Battles of Thermopylæ, Artemisium, and Salamis.
479.	LXXV. 2.	Battles of Plataea and Mycale, on the same day.
478.	LXXV. 3.	Hiero succeeds Gelon.
477.	LXXV. 4.	The supremacy of Greece conferred upon Athens.
476.	LXXVI. 1.	Cimon takes Eira.
471.	LXXVII. 2.	Banishment of Themistocles, and death of Pausanias.
466.	LXXVIII. 3.	Naxos conquered.
465.	LXXVIII. 4.	Battle of the Eurymedon.
464.	LXXIX. 1.	Revolt of the Messenians and Helots. Third Messenian war.
463.	LXXIX. 2.	Death of Aristides.
461.	LXXIX. 4.	Law of Ephialtes.
459.	LXXX. 2.	Cimon ostracised. Triumph of Pericles.
457.	LXXX. 4.	Battle of Tanagra. Fall of the maritime power of Ægina.
455.	LXXXI. 2.	End of Third Messenian war, and of the war in Egypt.
453.	LXXXI. 4.	Recal of Cimon.
450.	LXXXII. 3.	Truce for five years between Athens and Sparta.

B.C. OLYMP.

449. LXXXII. 4. Peace of Cimon. His death.  
 447. LXXXIII. 2. Battle of Coronea.  
 445. LXXXIII. 4. Thirty years' truce.  
 440. LXXXV. 1. Revolt and conquest of Samos.  
 435. LXXXVI. 2. War respecting Epidamnus.  
 431. LXXXVII. 2. Peloponnesian war begins.  
 430. LXXXVII. 3. The Plague at Athens.  
 429. LXXXVII. 4. Death of Pericles.  
 427. LXXXVIII. 2. Surrender of Plataea, and recovery  
     of Lesbos.  
 425. LXXXVIII. 4. Affair of Pylos.  
 423. LXXXIX. 2. Banishment of Thucydides.  
 421. LXXXIX. 4. Peace of Nicias.  
 418. XC. 3. Alliance between Argos and  
     Sparta.  
 416. XCI. 1. Cruel treatment of the Melians.  
 415. XCI. 2. Sicilian expedition.  
 413. XCI. 4. End of Sicilian war.  
 411. XCII. 2. Revolution at Athens.  
 408. XCIII. 1. Return of Alcibiades.  
 406. XCIII. 3. Battle of Arginusæ.  
 405. XCIII. 4. Battle of Ægospotami.  
 404. XCIV. 1. Lysander takes Athens.  
 400. XCV. 1. Return of the Ten Thousand.  
 396. XCVI. 1. Agesilaus in Asia.  
 393. XCVI. 4. Conon begins to rebuild the long  
     walls of Athens.  
 387. XCVIII. 2. Peace of Antalcidas.  
 382. XCIX. 3. First year of Olynthian war.  
 378. C. 3. Beginning of Theban war.  
 371. CII. 2. Battle of Leuctra.  
 367. CIII. 2. The Tearless Battle.  
 362. CIV. 3. Battle of Mantinea.  
 359. CV. 2. Accession of Philip of Macedon.  
 357. CV. 4. First year of Social and Sacred  
     wars.



B. C.	OLYMP.	
356.	CVI. 1.	Birth of Alexander the Great.
347.	CVIII. 2.	Olynthus taken and destroyed.
342.	CIX. 3.	Philip marches into Thrace.
338.	CX. 3.	Philip made Commander-in-chief of the Amphictyonic forces. Battle of Chaeronea.
336.	CXI. 1.	Accession of Alexander.
333.	CXI. 4.	The battle of Issus.
331.	CXII. 2.	Alexander founds Alexandria.
326.	CXIII. 3.	Alexander returns from India.
323.	CXIV. 2.	Death of Alexander.
322.	CXIV. 3.	Battle of Crannon.
321.	CXIV. 4.	Second partition of the Empire.
317.	CXV. 4.	Death of Phocion. Demetrius Phalereus at Athens.
315.	CXVI. 2.	Commencement of the war against Antigonus.
311.	CXVII. 2.	Third partition of the Empire.
307.	CXVIII. 2.	Demetrius Poliorcetes makes him- self master of Athens.
301.	CXIX. 4.	Battle of Ipsus.
294.	CXXI. 3.	Usurpation of Demetrius.
286.	CXXIII. 3.	Pyrrhus dethroned by Lysima- chus.
281.	CXXIV. 4.	Revival of the Achæan league.
280.	CXXV. 1.	Invasion of the Gauls.
273.	CXXVI. 4.	Philip makes war upon Antigonus Gonatas.
272.	CXXVII. 1.	Death of Pyrrhus.
262.	CXXIX. 3.	Athens submits to Antigonus Gonatas.
251.	CXXXII. 2.	Aratus adds Sicyon to the Achæan league.
243.	CXXXIII. 4.	Aratus delivers Corinth from its Macedonian garrison.

B. C.	OLYMP.	
229.	CXXXVII. 4.	The Macedonian garrison leaves Athens.
227.	CXXXVIII. 2.	Cleomenes wages war against the Achæan league.
222.	CXXXIX. 3.	Battle of Sellasia.
220.	CXL. 1.	The Achæans under Aratus defeated by the Ætolians.
217.	CXL. 4.	Last year of the Social war.
213.	CXLI. 4.	Aratus poisoned by Philip V.
208.	CXLIII. 1.	Philopœmen elected general of the Achæans.
205.	CXLIII. 4.	Philip makes peace with the Romans.
200.	CXLV. 1.	Philip attacks Athens.
197.	CXLV. 4.	Battle of Cynoscephalæ.
192.	CXLVII. 1.	Nabis defeated and slain by the Ætolians.
190.	CXLVII. 3.	M. Acilius Glabrio grants a truce to the Ætolians.
183.	CXLIX. 2.	Murder of Philopœmen.
179.	CL. 2.	Accession of Perseus.
168.	CLIII. 1.	Battle of Pydna.
151.	CLVII. 2.	Return of the Achæan exiles from Rome.
146.	CLVIII. 3.	Destruction of Corinth by Mummius.



Persian Dario.



Tetradrachma of Thurium, and Reverse

## LITERARY CHRONOLOGY.

- B. C.
- |      |   |  |
|------|---|--|
| 775  | } | { Age in which the Cyclic poets Arctinus,<br>Cinæthon, and Eumelus flourished. |
| 743. |   |  |
| 736. |   | Callinus of Ephesus.   |
| 708. |   | Archilochus of Paros.  |
| 693. |   | Simonides of Amorgos.  |
| 683. |   | Tyrtæus the Athenian.  |
| 672. |   | Alcman of Sardis.  |
| 665. |   | Thaletas of Crete.   |
| 662. |   | Zaleucus the lawgiver of Locri.  |
| 647. |   | Pisander and Terpander.  |
| 630. |   | Mimnermus and Arion.   |
| 611. |   | Sappho, Alcæus, Stesichorus.   |
| 586. |   | Age of the Seven Wise Men.   |
| 570. |   | Æsop the author of "Fables," Anaximander.                                      |
| 560. |   | Ibycus of Rhegium.   |
| 548. |   | Anaximenes, Hipponax, Pherecydes of Syros,<br>Theognis of Megara.              |

B. C.

- 538. Xenophanes of Colophon, Thespis.
- 531. Simonides of Ceos, Anacreon of Teos, Pythagoras.
- 525. Birth of Æschylus.
- 521. Hecataeus the historian.
- 518. Birth of Pindar.
- 511. Phrynichus flourished.
- 501. Hecataeus flourished.
- 500. Birth of Anaxagoras.
- 499. Æschylus's first tragedy.
- 495. Sophocles born.
- 484. Herodotus born.
- 480. Euripides born.
- 471. Thucydides born. Empedocles flourished.
- 468. Socrates born. Epicharmus flourished.
- 452. Cratinus and Crates, comic poets, flourished.
- 440. Comedy prohibited at Athens. Birth of Isocrates.
- 437. The prohibitory edict against Comedy repealed.
- 435. Isocrates born.
- 429. Plato born.
- 427. Aristophanes exhibits his first comedy.
- 413. Death of Herodotus.
- 411. Execution of Antiphon the orator.
- 406. Death of Sophocles.
- 405. Death of Euripides.
- 399. Death of Socrates.
- 394. Xenophon begins to write his works.
- 389. Birth of Æschines.
- 384. Birth of Aristotle.
- 382. Birth of Demosthenes.
- 354. Demosthenes begins to speak.
- 347. Death of Plato.
- 342. Epicurus born.
- 338. Death of Isocrates.

- B. C.  
330. The Speeches of Æschines and Demosthenes  
    "de Corona."  
322. Deaths of Demosthenes and Aristotle.  
321. Menander exhibits his first comedy.  
314. Death of Æschines.  
306. Epicurus begins to teach at Athens.  
291. Death of Menander.  
270. Death of Epicurus.  
212. Death of Archimedes the philosopher.  
167. Polybius the historian sent to Rome.

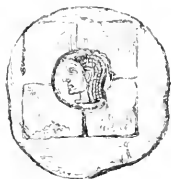


Didrachma of Sybaris.



Reverse.





Coin of Sicily.

## INDEX.

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- Acanthus, 302.  
 Acarnania, 171.  
 Achæan League, 374.  
 Achaia, 5.  
 Acusilaus, 267.  
 Ægæ, 336.  
 Ægean islands, 3.  
 Ægospotami, battle of, 243  
 Æolic migration, 28.  
 Æschines, 327; impeaches Ctesiphon, 360; character as an orator, 404.  
 Æschylus, notice of, 257.  
 Ætolian League, 378.  
 Agesilaus, 292; his Asiatic campaign, 292; recalled, 293; defeats the Thebans, 295, defends Sparta, 311; his death, 315.  
 Agesipolis, 303.  
 Agis, king of Sparta, invades Elis, 291; his death, 292.  
 Agis II. besieges Megalopolis, 359.  
 Agis IV., 375; strangled, 376.  
 Alcidas, 176.  
 Alcibiades, notice of, 202; promotes the Sicilian war, 210; accused of sacrilege, 212; sails for Sicily, 213; recalled, 215; escapes to Sparta, 215; suspected by the Spartans, 228; flees, 228; escapes from Tissaphernes, 236; defeats Mindarus, 236; takes Byzantium, 237; returns to Athens, 237; retires to the Chersonese, 240; assassinated, 246.  
 Alexander, king of Macedon, 124; sends information to the Athenians, 126:—tyrant of Phæræ, 313; defeated, 313; assassinated, 313:—king of Epirus, 335.  
 Alexander the Great, saves his father's life, 332; decides the battle of Charonea, 333; succeeds Philip, 338; marches into Greece, 340; defeats the Thebans, 342; invades Persia, 344; visits the tomb of Achilles, 344; defeats the Persians at the Granicus, 344; destroys Halicarnassus, 345; defeats Darius near Issus, 346; besieges Tyre, 347; takes it by storm, 348; takes Gaza, 349; visits Jerusalem, 349; founds Alexandria, 350; proclaims himself son of Jupiter Ammon, 350; gains the battle of Arbela, 352; takes Persepolis, 352; a conspiracy against his life, 353; causes Parmenio to be assassinated,

- 353; marries Roxalana, 354; murders Clitus, 354; another conspiracy against him, 354; marries Statira, 356; quells a mutiny, 357; dies at Babylon, 357; his burial, 361.
- Ambracian Gulf, battle in, 151.
- Ambracium, 160.
- Amphictyonic Council, 57.
- Amphictyonies, 57.
- Amphipolis, 198.
- Amyntas, 302.
- Anactorium, 160.
- Anaxagoras, 155, 277.
- Anaxicrates, 146.
- Andocides, 215, 400.
- Antalcidas, peace of, 299.
- Antigonos, 367; slain, 368 :—  
Gonatas, 372; takes Atheus, 373;—Doson, 377; his death, 379.
- Antiochus III. 387; defeated, 387.
- Antipater, 334; defeats Agis, 360; regent, 364; death, 364.
- Antiphilus, 362.
- Antiphon, 231; suspected of treason, 234; executed, 235; notice of, 400.
- Antisthenes, 414.
- Apollonia, 302.
- Aratus, chosen Strategus, 374; seeks aid from Macedon, 376; poisoned, 380.
- Arbela, battle of, 352.
- Arcadia, 5.
- Archeptolemus, 235.
- Archias, 363.
- Archidamus, 163; invades Attica a second time, 166; besieges Plataea, 169.
- Archons, establishment of, 51; annual, 51; rank and functions of, 51.
- Areopagus, council of, 60.
- Arginusæ, 241.
- Argolis, 5.
- Argonauts, expedition of, 20.
- Argos, 5; disputes with Sparta the possession of Cynuria, 48.
- Aristagoras, 95.
- Aristeus, 154.
- Aristides, 108; is ostracised, 109; cuts off the Persian reserve, 121.
- Aristippus of Cyrene, 414.
- Aristomenes, 44.
- Aristophanes, 209; notice of, 265, 397.
- Aristotle, 411; tutor to Alexander the Great, 411; returns to Athens, 411; his "History of Animals," 412; his doctrines, 412.
- Arixus, 288.
- Arrhidæus, 361; murdered, 367.
- Artaxerxes Mnemon, 285; defeats Cyrus, 287.
- Artemisia, 121.
- Artemisium, battle of, 118.
- Aspasia, 155.
- Athenagoras, 214.
- Athens, anciently named Cecropia, 50; original constitution of, 51; democracy introduced in, 74; becomes the leading state of Greece, 131; her wealth, 161; besieged, 243; capitulates, 245.
- Attalus, 381.
- Attica, 4; ancient history of, 49.
- Babylon, 352.
- Bessus, murders Darius, 353; put to death by Alexander, 353.
- Bion, 415.
- Boeotia, 7; joins Sparta, 160.
- Brasidas, 195; occupies Scione and Mende, 198; defeats Cleon, 199; his death, 199.
- Brennus, 371; defeated, 372; poisons himself, 372.
- Cadmus, 267.
- Callias, peace of, 308.
- Callicratidas, 240; defeated and drowned, 241.
- Callimachus, 416.
- Callippus, 372.



- Callisthenes, 354.  
 Camarina, 186.  
 Carmania (*Kermân*), 356.  
 Cassander, 363; aspires to the regency, 364; destroys the fleet of Polysperchon, 367; murders Olympias, 367, and Roxana, 368; his death, 369.  
 Catana, 215.  
 Cephalenia (*Cefalonia*), 160.  
 Cerasus, 289.  
 Chabrias, 320.  
 Chares, 320; impeaches his colleagues, 320; enters the service of Artabazus, 321; sent to assist the Olynthians, 325; sent to Byzantium, 331; defeated at Chaeronea, 333.  
 Charidemus, 325.  
 Charon, 267.  
 Chionides, 265.  
 Chios, 320.  
 Chrysopolis (*Scutari*), 290.  
 Cicero, 416.  
 Cimon, notice of, 132; takes Thasos, 138; assists Sparta, 139; is ostracised, 143; recalled, 144; sails for Cyprus, 146; his death, 146.  
 Cleander, 290.  
 Cleippides, 175.  
 Cleombrotus, 305; defeated and killed at Leuctra, 308.  
 Cleomenes, 375; effects a revolution, 376; defeated at Sellasia, 377; retires to Alexandria, 377; tragical end, 378.  
 Cleon, notice of, 177; sent against Sphacteria, 190; his cowardice, 199; his death, 199.  
 Clisthenes, of Sicyon, 54:—one of the Alemaeonidae, founds democracy at Athens, 74.  
 Clitus, 344; murdered by Alexander, 354.  
 Cnemus, 171.  
 Conon, 240; defeats Pisander, 295.  
 Corax, 399.  
 Coreyra (*Corfu*), 150, 160, 213.  
 Corinth, 5, 150, 151, 297.  
 Corinthian war, 294—299.  
 Coronea, battle of, 295.  
 Cotyora, 290.  
 Crannon, battle of, 362.  
 Cratinus, 265.  
 Crissa, 57.  
 Crissæan, or first Holy war, 57.  
 Critias, 246; his atrocities, 249.  
 Cryptia, 38.  
 Ctesias, notice of, 276.  
 Cunaxa, battle of, 287.  
 Cynics, the, 414; first taught by Antisthenes, 414.  
 Cynoscephalæ, battle of, 385.  
 Cyrenaic sect, the, 414, founded by Aristippus of Cyrene, 414.  
 Cyrus, 239; rebels against his brother, 285; killed, 287.  
 Cythera (*Cerigo*), 192, 296.  
 Darius Codomannus, 344; defeated near Issus, 346, and at Arbela, 352; murdered, 353.  
 Darius, son of Hystaspes, invades Scythia, 92; retreats, 93; quells the Ionian revolt, 97—100; invades Greece, 101; second expedition against Greece, 103—106; defeated at Marathon, 106; his death, 110.  
 Delium, battle of, 196; town of, taken, 197.  
 Demades, 334, 363, 406.  
 Demeas, 363.  
 Demetrius Phalerus, 367:—Poliorectes, 368; gains a great naval victory, 368; retakes Athens, 369; usurps the throne, 369; deposed, 369:—son of Philip, 385; put to death, 389.  
 Democritus, 278.  
 Demosthenes, defeats the Ambraciots, 186; fortifies Pylos, 187; takes Sphacteria, 191; invades Bœotia, 195; surrenders to Gylippus, 225; condemned, 225.

- Demosthenes, the orator, 323;  
urges war with Philip, 325;  
his Olynthiac orations, 325;  
sent ambassador to Philip,  
326; accuses Æschines, 327;  
imprisoned, but escapes, 361;  
proscribed, 362; flees to the  
temple of Neptune, 363;  
poisons himself, 369.
- Dercyllidas, 291, 296.
- Dæus, 394; poisons himself,  
395.
- Dinarchus, 406.
- Dinolochus, 265.
- Diodorus, 178.
- Diogenes, of Apollonia, 277;  
the Cynic, 341.
- Diomedes, 229.
- Dionysius, 312.
- Dorians, characteristics of, 9;  
migration of, 28; conquer  
Corinth and Megara, 31; es-  
tablish colonies, 31.
- Draco, 52.
- Egesta, 210.
- Eira, held by the Messenians, 46;  
taken by the Spartans, 47.
- Elis, 5.
- Epaminondas, 305; refuses to  
sign the peace of Callias, 307;  
gains the battle of Leuctra,  
308; invades the Peloponnese,  
310; defeats the Athenians  
and Spartans, 312; his third  
invasion of the Peloponnese,  
312; fourth, 313; victory of  
Mantineia, 314; his death, 314.
- Epicharmus, 264.
- Epicurus, 414.
- Epidamnus, 150; taken, 151.
- Eubœa, 7.
- Euclid, 416.
- Eumenes, 367.
- Eupolis, 265.
- Euripides, notice of, 261.
- Eurylochus, 187.
- Eurymedon, battle of, 133.
- Evagoras, 296.
- Flaminius, T. Quinctius, 384;  
proclaims the freedom of  
Greece, 385; attacks Sparta,  
386.
- Gauls, the, 371; form the settle-  
ment of Galatia, 372.
- Glabrio, M. Acilius, 387.
- Gorgias, 278, 399.
- Granicus, battle of the, 344.
- Greece, its extent, 1; boundaries,  
2; physical geography, 3—7;  
climate, 7; character of its in-  
habitants, 8; mythical history,  
10; true source of its tradi-  
tions, 10; language, 13; heroic  
age of, 14—22; earliest form  
of religion, 23; mythology, 23;  
early form of government, 24;  
domestic manners, 25; useful  
arts, 26; literature, 77—87;  
Seven Sages of, 87; philoso-  
phy of, 88; drama of, 254—  
266; historians of, 267—276;  
philosophers of, 277—284;  
literary history, 397—417.
- Gylippus, 217; lands in Sicily,  
219; defeated, 222; overcomes  
Demosthenes and Nicias, 225.
- Hamilcar, 123.
- Harmodius and Aristogeiton, 73.
- Harmozia (*Ormuz*), 356.
- Harpalus, 360.
- Hecatæus, 267.
- Hellanicus, 267.
- Hellenes, two great divisions of,  
9; mythical traditions of, 10;  
real origin of, 10.
- Helots, 36.
- Hephæstion, 356.
- Heraclidæ, return of, 30.
- Hercules, infancy of, 15; twelve  
labours of, 16.
- Hermocrates, 193, 217.
- Hermolaus, 354.
- Herodorus, 267.
- Herodotus, notice of, 267—271.
- Hesiod, 77.
- Hipparchus, 72; assassinated, 73.

- Hippias, the tyrant, 72; the philosopher, 278.  
 Hippocrates, 196.  
 Histiaeus, tyrant of Miletus, 93.  
 Holy wars, first, or Crissæan, 57; second, 321—328.  
 Homeric poems, the, 67.  
 Hymettus, marbles of, 7.  
 Hyperides, 361; proscribed, 362; his tongue cut out, 405; put to death, 405.  
 Inarus, 144.  
 Ionians, characteristics of, 9; migration of, 32; revolt, 96—100; entirely subdued, 100.  
 Iphicrates, 297, 298, 312.  
 Ipsus, battle of, 368.  
 Isæus, 401.  
 Ismenias, 303.  
 Isocrates, 400, 401.  
 Issus, battle of, 346.  
 Isthmian games, 35.  
 Ithome, 43; surrender of, 44.  
 Jason, 20; of Phæræ, 310; assassinated, 312.  
 Lacedæmon, 5.  
 Laconia, 5.  
 Lamachus, 210, 214, 218.  
 Lamia besieged, 362.  
 Laurion, mines at, 7.  
 Leon, 229.  
 Leontiades, 303; killed, 305.  
 Leontium, 186.  
 Leosthenes defeats Antipater, 361; besieges Lamia, 362; killed by a stone, 362.  
 Leucas, 160.  
 Leuctra, battle of, 308.  
 Locris, 160.  
 Lucian, 416.  
 Lycortas, 389.  
 Lycurgus, traditional account of, 33; revives the Olympic games, 34—the orator, 405.  
 Lysander, notice of, 239; defeats Antiochus, 240—the Athenians, 243; destroys the long walls, 245; takes Samos, 245.  
 Lysias, 247, 400.  
 Lysicles, 333.  
 Lysimachus, 367; slain at Corupedium, 370.  
 Macedon, 318; takes the lead in Greece, 328.  
 Magna Græcia, 3.  
 Magnes, 265.  
 Mantinea, battle of, 206; town of, 302; second battle of, 313.  
 Maracanda (*Samarcand*), 354.  
 Marathon, battle of, 106.  
 Mardonius, incites Xerxes to invade Greece, 111; marches to Athens, 125; enters Bœotia, 125; defeated and slain at Plataea, 127.  
 Mausolus, 320.  
 Megabazus, conquers Thrace, 93; transports the Pæonians into Phrygia, 94.  
 Megalopolis, 310; besieged, 359.  
 Megara, 160; revolution at, 193.  
 Melos, 160; taken, 207.  
 Memnon, 344; defends Halicarnassus, 345; his death, 345.  
 Menander, 398.  
 Mende, 198.  
 Messina (*Messina*) founded, 47.  
 Messenia, 5.  
 Messenian wars, first, 42—44; second, 44—47; third, 139.  
 Metellus, L. Cæcilius, defeats Pseudo-Philippus, 393; governor of Macedonia, 394; defeats the Achæans, 394; and takes Thebes, 394.  
 Miletus, 227.  
 Miltiades, 93; commands at Marathon, 106; his treachery, 108.  
 Mindarus, 235; killed, 236.  
 Moschus, 416.  
 Mummius, burns Corinth, 395; surnamed Achaicus, 396.  
 Mycale, battle of, 128.  
 Mycenæ, 5.  
 Mytilene, 174; revolt of, 175; capitulates, 177; razed, 179.

- Nabis, 386; murdered, 387.  
 Nauplia, 6.  
 Naxos, 217.  
 Nearchus, 356.  
 Nemean games, 35.  
 Neodamodes, 37.  
 Nicias, peace of, 200; opposes the Sicilian war, 211; gains a victory, 216; surrenders to Gylippus, 225; condemned, *ib.*  
 Nicomachus, 251.  
 Nicostratus, 183.  
 Œnoë, 163.  
 Œnophyta, battle of, 144.  
 Olympias retires to Epirus, 335; suspected of the murder of Philip, 336; murdered, 367.  
 Olympic games, their revival attributed to Lycurgus, 34.  
 Olympiodorus, 369.  
 Olynthus, attack on, 302; surrenders, 303; betrayed to Philip and destroyed, 326.  
 Onomarchus, 322; defeated and slain, 323.  
 Orchomenus, 206; burnt, 307.  
 Oropus, 392.  
 Paches, 176.  
 Pagondas, 196.  
 Parmenio, sent into Æolia, 336; at the battle of Issus, 346; assassinated, 353.  
 Paros, marble of, 7.  
 Paulus, L. Emilius, defeats Perseus, 391.  
 Pausanias, the Spartan, besieges Thebes, 125; intrigues with Xerxes, 131; accused of Medism, 134; starved to death, 135;—the assassin of Philip, 336;—the historian, 416.  
 Pelopidas, 304; embodies the "Holy Legion," 306; opposes the peace of Callias, 307; commands at Leuctra, 308; invades the Peloponnese, 310; defeats the Macedonians, 313; his death, 313.  
 Peloponnesian war, 157—245.  
 Peloponnesus, 5.  
 Pentelicus, marble of, 7.  
 Perdiccas, king of Macedon, 153; joins the Spartans, 197; again joins Athens, 199.  
 Perdiccas, 361; assassinated, 364.  
 Perdiccas III. of Macedon, 318.  
 Periander, 54.  
 Pericles, notice of, 140; attacks the Areopagus, 142; builds the long walls, 145; conquers Eubœa, 146; concludes a peace with Sparta, 146; becomes supreme in Athens, 147; beautifies the city, 147; subjugates Samos, 149; his policy, 162; wastes Megara, 165; his death, 172.  
 Periœci, 36.  
 Persens, 389; declares war against Rome, 391; defeated, 391; surrenders, and dies in prison, 391.  
 Pharnabazus, 236; defeats Pisander, 295.  
 Pheræ, 323.  
 Pherecydes, 267.  
 Phidias, 147; dies in prison, 155.  
 Phigaleia, 378.  
 Philemon, 398.  
 Philip II., 318; his character, 319; takes Amphipolis, 319; founds Philippi, 320; takes Methone, 323; defeats Phayllus, and Onomarchus, 323; takes Pheræ, 323; destroys Olynthus, 326; subdues the Illyrians, 331; reduces Thesaly, 331; lays siege to Byzantium, 331; defeated by the Triballi, 332; takes possession of Elatæa, 332; gains the battle of Charonea, 333; marries Cleopatra, 335; assassinated, 336.  
 Philip V. joins the Achæan League, 379; makes peace, 379; treaty with Hannibal, 380; causes Aratus to be poi-

- soned, 380; besieges Athens, 384; retreats into Macedonia, 384; enters Thessaly, 384; defeated at Cynoscephalæ, 385; sues for peace, 385.
- Philomelus, seizes the temple of Delphi, 322; is defeated, 322; kills himself, 322.
- Philopœmen, chosen Strategus, 381; defeats Machanidas, 382—Nabis, 387; seizes Sparta, 387; taken, 388; put to death, 388.
- Philotas, 353.
- Phlius, 302.
- Phocion, sent into Eubœa, 324; supports the peace party, 325; succeeds Chares, 332; refuses the gifts of Alexander, 343; impeached and condemned, 365; his death, 366; refused funeral rites, 366; buried at Megara, 366; his remains brought to Athens, 366.
- Phocis, 160.
- Phœbidas, 303.
- Phormio, 171.
- Phormis, 264.
- Phrynichus, 229; murdered, 234.
- Pindar, 342.
- Pisander, sent to Tissaphernes, 229; establishes oligarchy, 231.
- Pisistratus, 65; driven into exile, 66; return, 66; death, 67.
- Plague, the, ravages Athens, 166, 185.
- Platœa, battle of, 127; town of, 156; siege of, 169; surrenders, 181; the garrison massacred, 182; destroyed, 307.
- Plato, 406; his style, 408; his creed, 408; his philosophy, 408—410.
- Pleistoanax, 200.
- Plutarch, 416.
- Polybiades, 303.
- Polybius, 389, 392, 416.
- Polydorus, 312.
- Polyphron, 312.
- Polysperchon, nominated regent, 364; besieges Piræus, 367.
- Porus, 355.
- Potidæa, 153; capitulates, 168; occupied by Amyntas, 302.
- Prodicus, 266.
- Protagoras, 278.
- Prusias, 381.
- Pseudo-Philippus, 393; invades Thessaly and is defeated, 393; executed, 394.
- Ptolemy, 368; relieves Salamis, 368;—Philadelphus, 370; Ceraunus, 370; Evergetes, 377; Philopator, 378.
- Pydna, battle of, 391.
- Pylos fortified, 187.
- Pyræus, 369; killed, 373.
- Pythian games, 35.
- Pythodorus, 193, 247.
- Rhegium, 186.
- Rhodes, 368.
- Romans, the, 379; declare war against the Achæans, 381; seize Zacynthus, Naxos, and Ægina, 381; make war on Philip, 383; defeat him at Cynoscephalæ, 385; invade Thessaly, 389.
- Roxana, 354; gives birth to a son, 364; imprisoned, 367; murdered, 368.
- Sadocus, 168, 172.
- Salamis, battle of, 120.
- Salæthus, 176.
- Samos, taken by Pericles, 147; by Lysander, 245.
- Scione, 198.
- Seleneus, defeats Lysimachus, 370; assassinated, 370.
- Selinus, 210.
- Sellasia, battle of, 377.
- Seuthes, 290.
- Sicilian war, 210.
- Siphæ, 196.
- Sitalces, 166, 172.
- Social wars, 321, 379.
- Socrates, 196, 242, 248; notice of, 279—284; his teaching, 279; his moral courage, 281;

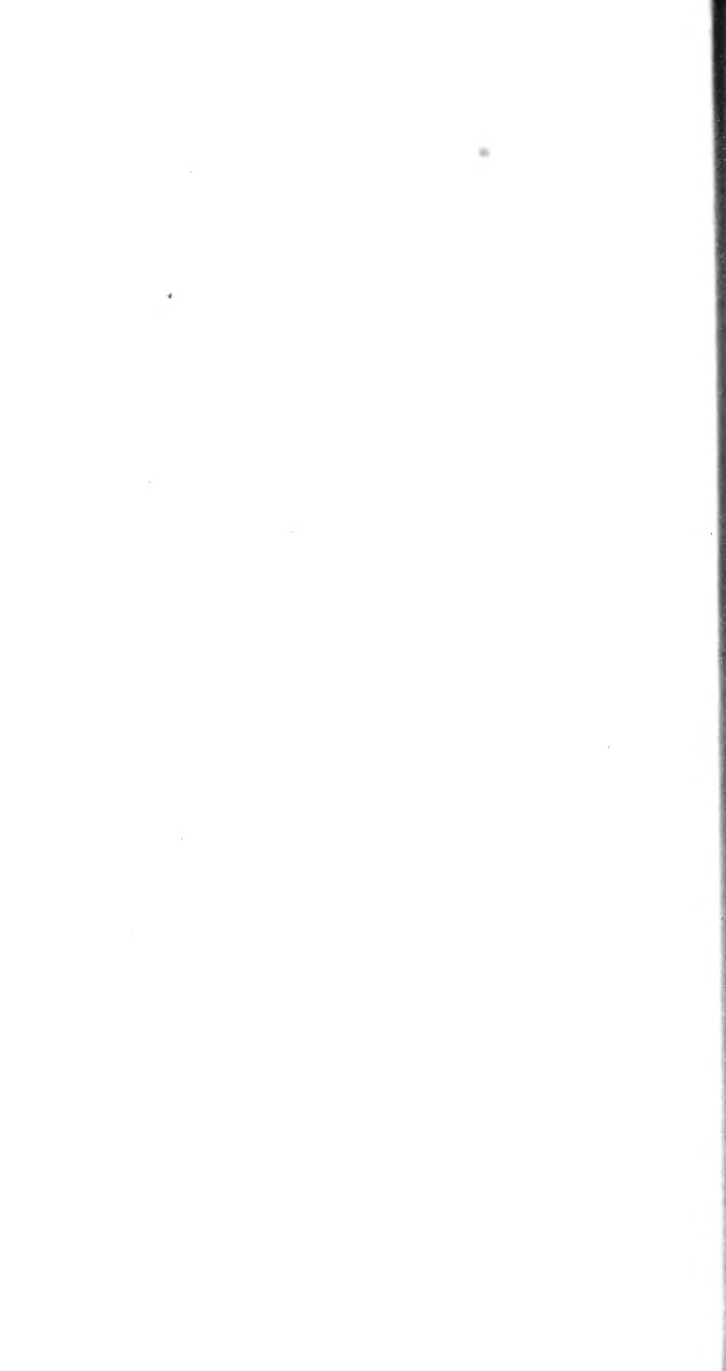
- accused of impiety, 281;  
condemned, 282; refuses to es-  
cape, 282; put to death, 283.
- Solon, 56; advises the Crissæan  
war, 58; classifies the citizens,  
59; institutes the Senate, 60;  
quits Athens, 62; his return,  
65; his laws revised, 251.
- Sophists, 278.
- Sophocles, 149; exiled, 193;  
notice of his tragedies, 259.
- Sparta, 5; institutions and go-  
vernment of, 35—40.
- Spartans, 35; small number of,  
37; cruelty of, 38; domestic  
life and manners of, 39.
- Sphacteria (*Sphagia*) blockaded,  
189; taken, 191.
- Sphodrias, 306.
- Stoics, founded by Zeno, 415.
- Struthias, 298.
- Susa, 352.
- Susarion, 264.
- Sybota, 152.
- Syracuse, 186; besieged, 217;  
the siege raised, 222; battle  
in the Great Harbour, 224.
- Tachos, 315.
- Tanagra, battle of, 143; another  
battle at, 186.
- Tarentum, founded, 44.
- Taxila (*Attock*), 354.
- Taxiles, 355.
- "Tearless battle," the, 312.
- Tegea, 48.
- Teleutias, 299.
- Ten Thousand, retreat of the, 288.
- Thasos taken, 138.
- Theagenes, 55.
- Thebes occupied by the Spar-  
tans, 303; destroyed by Alex-  
ander the Great, 342.
- Themistocles, policy of, 108;  
obtains the banishment of  
Aristides, 109; explains the  
Delphic oracle, 114; con-  
duct after the battle of Sala-  
mis, 121; honours awarded  
him, 123; fortifies Athens,  
129; is ostracised, 135; flees,  
136; death, 136.
- Theocritus, 415.
- Theophrastus, 415.
- Thera, 160.
- Theramenes, 231, 241; his mo-  
deration, 248; his death, 250.
- Thermopylæ, battle of, 113.
- Theseus, 18.
- Thespiæ razed, 307.
- Thespis, 255.
- Thessaly, 3.
- Thimbron, 290; defeated and  
slain, 298.
- Thrasybulus, 233; flight of, 247;  
destroys the tyranny, 250.
- Thrasyllus, 233.
- Thucydides ostracised, 147;  
saves Eion, 197; his exile,  
198; historical works, 272—  
275; his character, 275.
- Timocrates, 294.
- Tiribazus, 299.
- Tisias, 399.
- Tissaphernes, 227; his trea-  
chery, 229; put to death, 293.
- Tithraustes, 294.
- Torone, 198.
- Trapezus (*Trebizond*), 289.
- Troy, siege of, 21; taken, 22.
- Tyrants, Age of, 53.
- Tyrants, the Thirty, 246.
- Xenophon, 196.
- Xerxes, prepares to invade  
Greece, 110; cuts a canal  
through Mount Athos, 112;  
passes into Europe, 113; is  
repulsed at Thermopylæ, 115;  
burns Athens, 119; is de-  
feated at Salamis, 120; re-  
turns to Asia, 121.
- Zacynthus (*Zante*), 160.
- Zana, battle of, 383.
- Zeno of Elea, 277;—of Citium,  
founds the Stoic school, 415.











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